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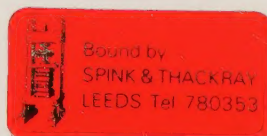
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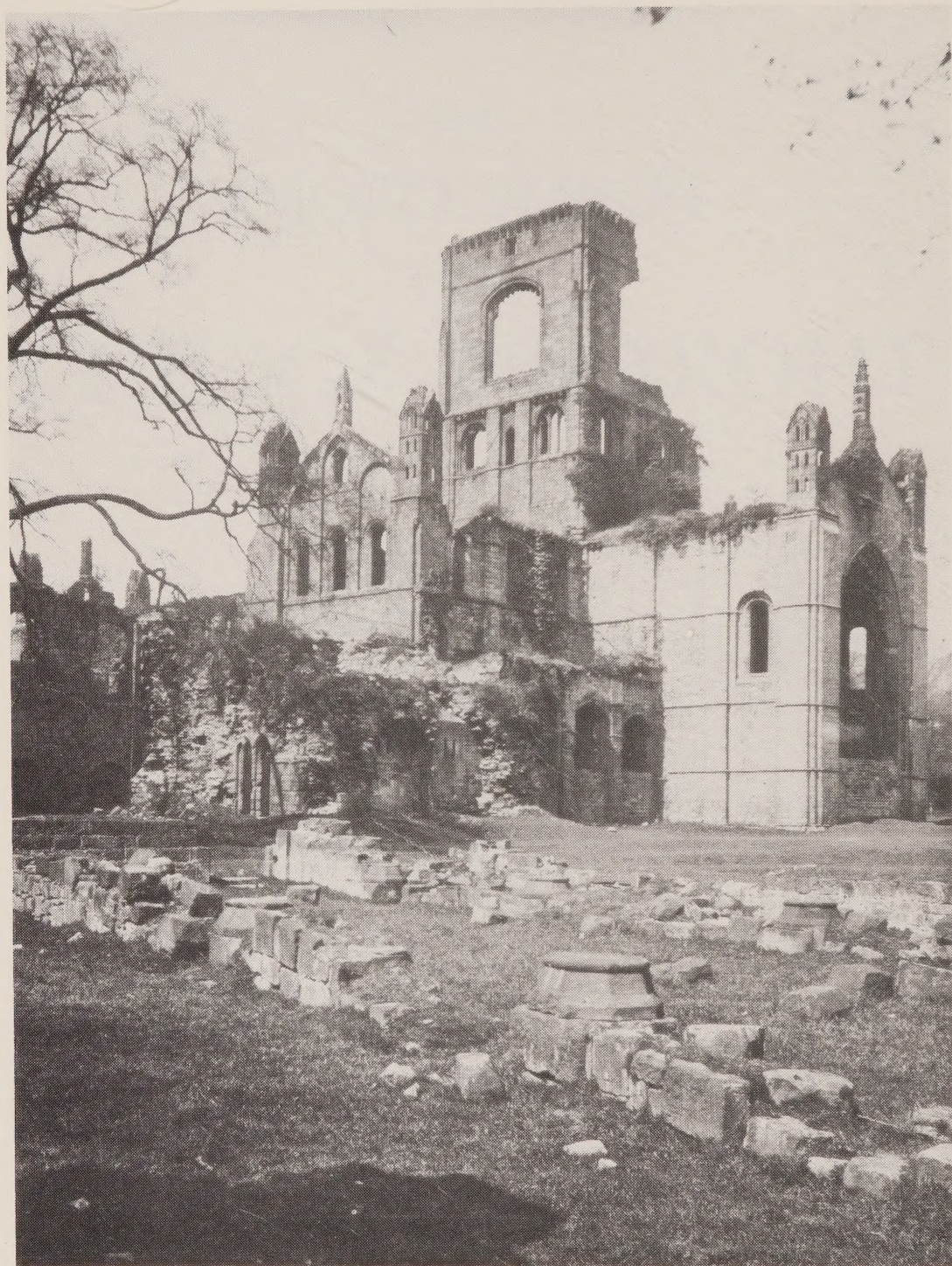
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Kirkstall Abbey from the south-east (1888)

*Godfrey Bingley Collection, University of Leeds*



KIRKSTALL ABBEY,  
1147-1539:  
AN HISTORICAL STUDY

by

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## PREFACE

A study of the history of Kirkstall Abbey was suggested to me a number of years ago by the late Professor John Le Patourel. At that time the works of Dom S. F. Hockey had not been written and no full history of a Cistercian house in England or in France had been produced.

This present work was first written as a thesis for the degree of Master of Philosophy in the University of Leeds under the supervision of Mr John Taylor. It was revised and prepared for publication by the Thoresby Society under the careful guidance of the honorary editors and of Mrs R. S. Mortimer, formerly joint honorary editor.

Most of the previous writings about Kirkstall Abbey are to be found in *Publications of the Thoresby Society*. Nineteenth-century writers concerned themselves mainly with the editing and publication of source material. A late medieval account of the foundation, which nevertheless made use of earlier material, was edited, with a translation, by E. K. Clark and published in 1895 as 'The Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey' (*PTh.S.*, IV). The same year also saw the publication by the Society of 'Charters relating to the Possessions of Kirkstall Abbey in Allerton', edited by F. R. Kitson and others, and of W. T. Lancaster's work, 'Possessions of Kirkstall Abbey in Leeds' (IV), while four years previously J. Stansfeld's 'A Rent-Roll of Kirkstall Abbey' (II) had provided yet another valuable source for the study of the abbey's land holdings. It was not until 1904, however, that the most important of all sources for the general history of the abbey – *The Coucher Book of Kirkstall Abbey* – was issued in an edition by W. T. Lancaster and W. P. Baidon (VIII). Three years later, in 1907, W. H. St John Hope's and J. Bilson's *Architectural Description of Kirkstall Abbey* appeared (XVI), providing a study in this area which still needs little to supplement it.

There is then a gap of nearly half a century in the Society's publications about the abbey until Mr John Taylor edited *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles* (XLII); his introduction to this edition includes a valuable account of the abbey's literary remains. Extensive excavations were carried out on the abbey site between 1950 and 1964 of which an account has been published in three volumes (XLIII, XLVIII and LI). The late Professor Le Patourel

included a short account of the abbey in a paper in which he looked at three medieval foundations in the city of Leeds – ‘Medieval Leeds: Kirkstall Abbey, The Parish Church, The Medieval Borough’ (XLVI) – and the same volume included a brief contribution by J. Sprittles on ‘New Grange, Kirkstall’. Most recently (LIII), R. A. Mott has written on ‘Kirkstall Forge and Monkish Iron-making’ and A. Lonsdale on ‘The Last Monks of Kirkstall Abbey’, the latter containing valuable material which throws light on the association between the last monks of the abbey and recusancy in Yorkshire.

The earliest printed account of the abbey which has been traced is *An Historical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Account of Kirkstall Abbey*, published in London in 1827. The author is unknown but a manuscript note in one copy ascribes the authorship to Mr Wood ‘at that time editor of the *Leeds Intelligencer*’. The volume is ‘embellished’ by engravings, which it was the author’s purpose to ‘elucidate’, and includes an annotated ground plan of the abbey buildings.

Many of the place-names which appear in the land charters of the abbey, from Armley and Bramley on the west side, northwards through Horsforth and Headingley, eastwards, through the many parts of Allerton, to Roundhay, are familiar now only as districts in the northern part of the city of Leeds. The expansion of the city in the last two centuries has seen the building of densely packed urban housing on most of the land which formed the abbey’s territorial endowment. Only patches of parkland, such as Beckett Park and Roundhay Park (both sites of former granges of the abbey), and the small remains of the once-extensive Hawksworth wood remind us of the agricultural basis of the abbey’s strength. When so many of its former possessions have become part of the city of Leeds it was indeed an appropriate and generous act when, in 1890, Colonel J. T. North purchased the abbey site and presented it to the city to be enjoyed by its citizens and by many others from beyond its boundaries.

In the preparation of this study I record my grateful thanks to the late Professor Le Patourel and to Mr John Taylor for support and encouragement over a number of years, and to Mrs Mortimer, Mrs W. B. Stephens and Mrs P. S. Kirby for their patience and meticulous guidance.

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G.D.B.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Account 1539–40	PRO, S.C.6/Henry VIII/4590, Account 1539–40
‘Charters, Allerton’	‘Charters relating to the Possessions of Kirkstall Abbey in Allerton’, ed. F. R. Kitson and others, <i>PTh.S.</i> , IV (1895), 42–59 and 81–116
<i>Calverley Charters</i>	<i>The Calverley Charters presented to the British Museum by Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, baronet</i> , transcribed by S. Margerison and edited by W. P. Baildon and S. Margerison ( <i>PTh.S.</i> , VI, 1904)
Canivez	<i>Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786</i> , ed. J. M. Canivez, Bibliothèque de la Revue d’Histoire Ecclesiastique, 8 vols (Louvain, 1933–41)
CB	<i>The Coucher Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall</i> , ed. W. T. Lancaster and W. P. Baildon ( <i>PTh.S.</i> , VIII, 1904)
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
CLP	<i>Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</i>
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
Dodsworth	Bodleian Library, Dodsworth MSS
Dugdale, MA	W. Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols in 8 (1817–46)
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EYC	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , vols I–III, ed. W. Farrer (1914–16); vols IV–XI, ed. C. T. Clay (1935–55), <i>Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, Extra Series</i>
<i>Mem. Fountains</i>	<i>Memorials of the Abbey of St Mary of Fountains</i> , ed. J. R. Walbran, J. Raine and J. T. Fowler, SS, XLII (1863); LXVII (1878); CXXX (1918)

<i>Fundacio</i>	'The Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey', ed. E. K. Clark, <i>PTh.S</i> , IV (1895), 169–208
Hope and Bilson	W. H. St J. Hope and J. Bilson, <i>Architectural Description of Kirkstall Abbey</i> , ( <i>PTh.S</i> , XVI, 1907)
Knowles, MO	D. Knowles, <i>The Monastic Order in England</i> , 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1966)
Knowles, RO	D. Knowles, <i>The Religious Orders in England</i> , 3 vols (Cambridge, 1950–71)
PRO	Public Record Office
<i>PTh.S</i>	<i>Publications of the Thoresby Society</i>
<i>Reg. Bowet and Kempe</i>	<i>Documents relating to Diocesan and Provincial Visitations from the Registers of Henry Bowet, Lord Archbishop of York, 1407–23, and John Kempe, Lord Archbishop of York, 1425–52</i> , SS, CXXVII (1916)
<i>Reg. Corbridge</i>	<i>The Register of Thomas of Corbridge, Lord Archbishop of York, 1300–04</i> , ed. W. Brown, SS, CXXXVIII (1925)
<i>Reg. Giffard</i>	<i>The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York, 1266–79</i> , ed. W. Brown, SS, CIX (1904)
<i>Reg. Gray</i>	<i>The Register, or Rolls, of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York</i> , ed. James Raine, jun., SS, LVI (1872)
<i>Reg. Greenfield</i>	<i>The Register of William Greenfield, Lord Archbishop of York, 1306–15</i> , transcribed and annotated by W. Brown, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, I, SS, CXLV (1931); II, SS, CXLIX (1934); III, SS, CLI (1936); IV, SS, CLII (1938); V, SS, CLIII (1940)
<i>Reg. Romeyn</i>	<i>The Register of John le Romeyn [Romanus], Lord Archbishop of York, 1286–96</i> , ed. W. Brown, I, SS, CXXIII (1913); II, SS, CXXVIII (1917)
SS	Surtees Society
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>

## *Cistercian Expansion and the Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey*

In the early twelfth century the north of England provided a promising field of growth for Cistercian monasticism. In the eleventh century the north had suffered from the invasions of the northmen and from the 'harrying of the north' of the Conqueror's reign, but by the turn of the century it was beginning to recover. Under Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux, the first Norman archbishop of York, the great Benedictine houses had appeared – Selby (c.1070),<sup>1</sup> Whitby (c.1095) and the small cells derived from it, from one of which, at Lastingham, grew the great abbey of St Mary at York. The cathedral priory at Durham was established in 1082–83, with its own family on the ancient sites of Lindisfarne, Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. Numerous alien priories were founded, of which two – Holy Trinity, York (1089) and Burstall in Holderness (1115) – were to have some significance in the history of Kirkstall.

The second half of the eleventh century had been a period of church reform, when successive popes had tried to exclude lay influence from the church and to emphasise papal supremacy. Reform was again taking place in the Benedictine order, and new orders had been founded which sought a return to the simplicity of early monasticism and, in accordance with reforming ideas, the reduction of lay influence. They were supported by, and provided support for, the papacy. In the early years of the twelfth century the new orders began to arrive in England. The Austin Canons came to Hexham in 1113, to Bridlington in the same year, to Nostell soon afterwards and to Guisborough in 1119. Embsay Priory, later to move to Bolton-in-Wharfedale, was founded in 1121–22. The Cistercians came to England with the foundation of Waverley in 1128.

A major revival of learning was in progress. In the north of England the school at York, which dates from the earliest days of Christianity in England, had been refounded by Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux. There 'a decent education could no doubt be

<sup>1</sup>All dates of monastic foundations in this chapter are taken from D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses* (1953).

obtained'.<sup>2</sup> Schools also existed at Beverley and Pontefract.<sup>3</sup> This was also a time of growing trade. York itself enjoyed the highly valued privilege of being quit of toll not only in England, but also in the king's overseas possessions,<sup>4</sup> and German merchants are known to have been in York in the early years of the twelfth century.<sup>5</sup> Finally, in Archbishop Thurstan of York, northern England had a religious leader 'who might be expected to welcome the new monasticism and to give his somewhat impulsive enthusiasm free reign in patronising its expansion'.<sup>6</sup>

The year 1132 saw the foundation of Rievaulx and Fountains: the former, a daughter-house of Clairvaux, in whose welfare St Bernard himself showed a deep concern, became a centre of sanctity under Ailred, most famous of English Cistercian abbots; the latter began in circumstances of the utmost poverty as a secession of monks from the wealthy Benedictine abbey of St Mary at York.<sup>7</sup>

The two Cistercian abbeys soon began to found daughter-houses of their own: Rievaulx at Warden in Bedfordshire (1135), Revesby in Lincolnshire (1142), when Ailred himself led the colonising monks, and at Rufford in Nottinghamshire (1146). Equally prolific, Fountains sent out new communities in 1139 to Haverholm and Kirkstead in Lincolnshire and Newminster in Northumberland. Her last foundations took place in 1147 when parties of monks left the mother-house for Bytham in Lincolnshire and for the Yorkshire village of Barnoldswick. Newminster herself later colonised Roche (1147) and Sawley (1148).

Following a decision of the general chapter in 1147, Savignac houses were absorbed into the Cistercian order.<sup>8</sup> This added three new houses to the groups of northern Cistercian monasteries – Furness, and its daughter-houses, Swineshead (Lincolnshire) and Byland (Yorkshire).

Holme Cultram, Cumberland, was founded from Rievaulx's daughter-house at Melrose in 1150 and in the same year Byland sent a community to Fors, which moved to Jervaulx in 1156. In 1152 the Cistercian general chapter forbade further foundations, but the decree does not seem to have been effective in England until

<sup>2</sup>A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1955), p.233.

<sup>3</sup>A. F. Leach, *Schools of Medieval England* (1915), pp.114–15.

<sup>4</sup>Poole, p.75.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>D. Knowles, *MO*, p.230.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, but see also D. Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York, 1114–40* (York, 1964).

<sup>8</sup>Knowles, *MO*, p.251.

after 1153, the year in which Poulton in Cheshire (Dieulacres from 1214) was founded from the former Savignac house of Combermere. This foundation marks the end of the great period of Cistercian expansion in northern England.

Such vitality would have been remarkable at any time. What seems to have attracted less attention than it deserves is the fact that this period of expansion coincided almost exactly with a period of intense unrest, associated, as far as the north of England was concerned, with three closely linked factors – the ‘anarchy’ of Stephen’s reign, the ambitions, in Lancashire and Lincolnshire especially, of Ranulf, earl of Chester, and the presence at the same time of a powerful and unscrupulous ruler on the Scottish throne in the person of David I. To the Cistercian struggle with nature, to which they were accustomed, was therefore added the danger to life and property from prolonged and often bitter warfare, a danger of which at least two houses, Newminster and Calder, and possibly others, had direct experience.

The year 1153, in which the general chapter’s order forbidding further foundations took effect in England, also marks in other ways the end of this era. In this year was signed the treaty between Stephen and Henry of Anjou which ended the years of ‘anarchy’; David I died and was succeeded by the much less compelling figure of Malcolm IV, and William FitzDuncan probably died in the same year. FitzDuncan, nephew of David I, who had interests in Craven through his marriage, had fought against Ilbert de Lacy in the Battle of the Standard and perhaps had a personal feud with the de Lacy family. He had led a raid by Scottish troops as far south as Clitheroe.<sup>9</sup>

Of the effects of these disorders on Cistercian expansion in northern England little definite can be said, except that expansion was clearly not held up. It does seem possible, however, that these disorders had some influence on the territorial direction taken by this expansion. It is noticeable that no new foundations took place in Yorkshire for eight years after the terrible experiences of 1138–39 when the Scots and their allies penetrated southwards on both sides of the Pennines, when the monasteries of Newminster and Calder were destroyed and the most ruthless atrocities were perpetrated.<sup>10</sup> The scarcity of religious houses in Lancashire may be explained by the instability of political conditions there during most of this period of rapid expansion by the new orders. Constant danger and

<sup>9</sup>Poole, p.271 and n.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.270–71.

occasional interference must have added to the difficulties which most northern Cistercian houses experienced in their early years, but that they survived at all shows that civilian life and progress were not altogether suspended in the days of anarchy and that only a few districts in England were seriously affected.

It has been argued that the Cistercian order was strongly supported by the barons in this period because the Cistercians, as an order which had grown out of the reform movement of the previous century, had close connections with the Holy See and therefore 'implicitly supported the barons in their opposition to royal authority'.<sup>11</sup> The numerous white monk houses of the north and west were seen as 'the strongholds of the semi-autonomous barons of Stephen's reign'<sup>12</sup> and as the expression of baronial opposition to Stephen. If this was so it is not surprising that serious political disorder and Cistercian expansion came to an end together.

#### *The Community at Barnoldswick*

Kirkstall Abbey was founded in 1147, a year which marks the peak of the period of Cistercian expansion described above.<sup>13</sup> The basis of any account of its foundation must be the *Fundacio Abbathie de Kyrkestall*, written perhaps by Hugh, a monk of Kirkstall, in the early thirteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Henry de Lacy, in penitence to God during an illness, gave land at Barnoldswick to the abbot of Fountains to found a new abbey of the Cistercian order. The land was held by Henry of Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, for an annual payment of five marks and a yearling hawk, but the rent had been long in arrears.

The land probably included Barnoldswick and the vills adjacent – Brogden, Coates (the 'Elfwynetrop' of the *Fundacio*), and Salterforth. There was a parish church at Barnoldswick, 'very ancient and founded long before', with dependent chapels at Bracewell and East Marton,<sup>15</sup> but these villages were probably not included in Henry de Lacy's donation.

<sup>11</sup> B. D. Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century* (Urbana, 1968), p.38.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> The year 1147 saw the foundation of Dore, Vaudey, Bittlesden, Roche, Sawtry and Margam as well as Kirkstall.

<sup>14</sup> The printed version in *PTh.S.*, IV, comprises a complete transcript and translation.

<sup>15</sup> The Norman work at both Bracewell and East Marton may well be the remains of these early buildings.

The abbot of Fountains sent Alexander, his prior (and one of the thirteen monks who had left St Mary's, York, to found Fountains), with twelve monks and ten lay-brothers to found the new house, which like several other Cistercian houses was given the name Mount St Mary.

When the monks took possession of the site the inhabitants of the vill were removed. This action was by no means unique in Cistercian foundations but was perhaps more thorough at Barnoldswick, for when the people came back regularly to worship at their church they were seen as a nuisance 'to the monastery and to the brethren there residing' and, in spite of their protests, the church was pulled down 'to its foundations'. For this the rector charged the monks before the archbishop, the Cistercian Henry Murdac, and appeal was made to the pope, also a Cistercian, but without success.

The monks' stay at Barnoldswick was neither long nor happy. They complained of interference by 'freebooters' and when a particularly wet season ruined their crops they began to consider the possibility of a change of site, again a not uncommon occurrence among Cistercian houses.

The *Fundacio* gives these two reasons for the monks' decision to seek a new site, and they may well have been true. Their land was precariously situated considering the disorders of the time. At the north-east end, at Bracewell and Marton, it adjoined the honour of Skipton, held by William FitzDuncan the Scot, and confirmed to him by King David in 1151.<sup>16</sup> FitzDuncan and the de Lacys had fought on opposite sides in the Battle of the Standard and it has been suggested that there was a personal feud between them.<sup>17</sup> It is not impossible therefore that the freebooters were Scots, but it would be surprising if lawlessness did not flourish generally in the conditions of the time.

The dampness of the climate may well have been an added reason for moving. The experience of the monks at Fors and Sawley, only about five miles from Barnoldswick and almost exactly contemporary, was similar.<sup>18</sup> A modern historian of climatic changes has concluded that the winter of 1148-49 was particularly severe and that that of 1151-52 was notable for wet periods.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> EYC, VII, 10.

<sup>17</sup> Poole, pp. 270-72, 271n.

<sup>18</sup> VCH, Yorkshire, III, ed. W. Page (1913), pp. 140, 156.

<sup>19</sup> C. E. Britton, *A Meteorological Chronology to 1450*, Meteorological Office, Geophysical Memoirs, 70 (1937), 62-63.

But even if we accept the reasons given by the monks for their move they do not tell the whole story. There can be little doubt that the intrusion of the Cistercians into this border area of Lancashire and Yorkshire was bitterly resented by the local inhabitants. As we have seen, the evicted villagers of Barnoldswick returned regularly to their church to worship and carried their complaint about its destruction to the papacy itself. At Accrington, under Abbot Lambert, the grange was burnt and three of the lay-brothers murdered,<sup>20</sup> following the eviction of the inhabitants. At Cliviger Richard of Eland, lord of the manor of Rochdale, proceeded successfully against the monks for their occupation of land which had been the gift of Robert de Lacy.<sup>21</sup> The editor of the *Coucher Book* has remarked with apparent surprise<sup>22</sup> that no further grants of land to the monks at Barnoldswick have been traced. It could well be, in these circumstances, that no other land was granted to them there. Perhaps, therefore, the abbot's decision to seek a new site was a wise one.

It has been argued<sup>23</sup> that the foundation gifts of Cistercian monasteries were usually of this somewhat ungenerous kind; that patrons founded Cistercian houses in their own interest and at minimal cost to themselves; and examples can be shown from many Midlands houses of meagre donations of unproductive land. Set against many of these, Henry de Lacy's grant at Barnoldswick was not ungenerous, at least in extent. 'The seemingly generous donations were often, if not always, land which the founder valued least among his possessions, and often . . . land labouring under some kind of legal disability which would severely tax the resources of an obscure and struggling monastery.'<sup>24</sup> The latter was true of Barnoldswick. Its tenure was by no means secure, for de Lacy held it of Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, by a rent which had been long in arrears and for which the earl later tried to evict the community.<sup>25</sup> In defence of de Lacy it has been argued<sup>26</sup> that if his grants to religious houses were not generous it was 'probably because he had the task of

<sup>20</sup> *Fundacio*, p.184.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *CB*, pp.x-xi.

<sup>23</sup> Hill, pp.48-53.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Fundacio*, p.180.

<sup>26</sup> W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066-1194* (Oxford, 1966), p.42.

building up the honour once again after the disasters of Stephen's reign and had to sort out the complications left from the period of his father's banishment'.

Abbot Alexander is said to have discovered the present site at Kirkstall when out on the business of his house. It was occupied by hermits,<sup>27</sup> but by persuading some of the hermits of the dangers of their way of life, by offering others gifts of money, and through the influence of Henry de Lacy with William de Peitevin, who held the land of him, the monks gained possession. The date 19 May 1152, the anniversary of their departure from Fountains in 1147, was chosen as the formal date of the removal to the new site.

It is possible to gain some idea of the topography of the new site from an estate map made in 1711 for the earl of Cardigan.<sup>28</sup> This is clearly a long time after the monks moved there, but it still gives some idea of the district before it was over-run by the expansion of Leeds.

Any idea of being 'remote from the habitation of men' would now seem to be a wholly inappropriate description of the Kirkstall site, but there must have been some seclusion there in the mid-twelfth century. The site was bounded on the south side by the river Aire and backed on the west by the great wood of Hawksworth, now almost entirely replaced by a large housing estate, but, even at the end of the abbey's history, still estimated at 800 acres<sup>29</sup> and its clearance only just beginning. About a mile and a half south-eastward was the small settlement of Burley, grouped around Burley Green, still an open space immediately west of the present Burley Recreation Ground. About the same distance east of the site lay East Headingley, the outline of its green perhaps still marked by North Lane and St Michael's Lane. Again at about the same distance north of the site lay West Headingley, the distinction between the two Headingleys made by the charters of the early endowments<sup>30</sup> still clearly visible on the eighteenth-century estate map. The river could be crossed by the ford at Horsforth, near the present Newlay Bridge, at the western end of Hawksworth Wood.<sup>31</sup>

With the *Fundacio* account of the moving of the community to Kirkstall and the foundation of the abbey there should be read Henry de Lacy's charter<sup>32</sup> confirming his own and other early grants to the

<sup>27</sup> It is 'not beyond the bounds of possibility' that a building found under the infirmary during the excavations of 1964 'was erected not by the monks but by the so-called hermits'. *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1960-64* (PTh.S, LI, 1967), p. 36.

<sup>28</sup> Northamptonshire Record Office, Brudenell Map 41.

<sup>29</sup> Account 1539-40.

<sup>30</sup> E.g., CB, p. 57.

<sup>31</sup> CB, p. 63, dating from Abbot Alexander's lifetime.

<sup>32</sup> CB, p. 50.

abbey. In spite of the reservations of the editor of the *Coucher Book*<sup>33</sup> there seems to be sufficient reason for regarding this as the foundation charter. It was placed first in the book by the original compiler only a little more than half a century after the gifts which it records; since the charter is in the form of a writ and records events which were in the past at the time of writing, the objection that it is 'little if anything more than a confirmation' is invalid. This is just what would be expected of a foundation charter in this form.<sup>34</sup> As was customary, the charter concludes with suitably solemn words, 'I moreover pray and command all my men that they love, honour and support this place and its inhabitants and all its appurtenances'.<sup>35</sup> The list of witnesses includes twenty-five of Henry's tenants or followers, so that the words 'command all my men' would have great significance in this context. The only other witness was Henry, archbishop of York, and this enables the charter to be fairly closely dated, for Henry Murdac died on 14 October 1153.

Galbraith has argued<sup>36</sup> that the foundation of a monastery took a long time<sup>37</sup> and that only after perhaps further grants beyond the initial endowment had been made and the church, or part of it, was ready for dedication would the intention of the founder be felt to have been fully realised. Then only would the 'whole complicated process of foundation be recorded in writing, perhaps at the dedication of the church'.<sup>38</sup> The presence of the archbishop and of Henry de Lacy and so many of his men makes one wonder whether the charter under consideration was not issued on just such an occasion.

The dating of these events in the *Fundacio* can now be examined. The relevant passages are as follows:

. . . in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord one thousand, one hundred and forty-seven, there was ordained abbot of the same place the venerable man the lord Alexander, prior of Fountains,

<sup>33</sup> CB, p. xi.

<sup>34</sup> See V. H. Galbraith, 'Monastic Foundation Charters of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, IV (1934), 205-22.

<sup>35</sup> The charter of confirmation by Robert de Lacy ends with similar words (CB, p. 51), and that by Roger with similar but even more high-sounding and emphatic words (CB, p. 54).

<sup>36</sup> Galbraith, p. 214.

<sup>37</sup> The foundations of a building which may possibly have provided temporary quarters for the monks who lived on the site while permanent buildings were being erected were discovered under the infirmary during the excavations of 1964, *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1960-64*, p. 36.

<sup>38</sup> William, earl of Albemarle, confirmed to the monks of Aumale 'all the donations which my predecessors faithfully made to the said church *from the beginning of its construction*' [my italics], EYC, III, 35.

who on this very day, namely May 18, was despatched from the abbey of Fountains with twelve monks and ten lay brothers to the new abbey . . .<sup>39</sup>

. . . For six years and more they remained there in unbroken poverty . . .<sup>40</sup>

. . . In the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 1152, King Stephen reigning over England, archbishop Roger presiding over the see of York, on May 19th . . . came the convent of monks from their first seat . . . to the place which is now called Kirkstall.<sup>41</sup>

An examination of the charter above has suggested that the process of foundation was complete before the death of Henry Murdac in October 1153. The reference to Archbishop Roger, therefore, is clearly in error. With that exception it does not seem necessary to amend the *Fundacio* account. Stephen was king until October 1154. The *terminus ad quem* is the death of Henry Murdac. Six years could have elapsed between the departure from Fountains in 1147 and the dedication of the church, which perhaps marked the completion of the process of foundation.

The necessary acceptance of an early date for Henry de Lacy's charter makes it probable that negotiations leading to the further grants of land included in it were going on while the community was still at Barnoldswick. This would be in agreement with the *Fundacio* account, which records the negotiations with William de Peitevin for the site and even the building of the church and 'humble offices' before it records the move from Barnoldswick.<sup>42</sup>

The coincidence of the date of the two migrations, from Fountains and from Barnoldswick, will have been noted. If the move to Kirkstall took a long time and if the monks wanted to choose a date on which formally to commemorate it, what date would be more suitable than the anniversary of the first foundation of their house?

The land which the monks occupied at Kirkstall was granted to them by William de Peitevin, who held it of Henry de Lacy at Headingley.<sup>43</sup> The *Fundacio* account is careful to point out<sup>44</sup> that the grant was made at Henry's suggestion and even persuasion. The writer seems anxious to stress Henry's services to the monks,

<sup>39</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 174.

<sup>40</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 176.

<sup>41</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 179.

<sup>42</sup> *Fundacio*, pp. 178–79.

<sup>43</sup> The land was held by William of Robert de Peitevin. The relationship is precisely expressed in Robert's confirmation of the grant by 'Dominus meus Henricus de Laci' and 'Willelmus Pictavensis miles meus'. *CB*, p. 56.

<sup>44</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 178.

which in the matter of territorial endowment at least were less significant than the account suggests, so that William's share in the transaction may have been somewhat greater than is shown in the *Fundacio*. This impression is strengthened by the fact that while it was usual for a monastery to base its seal on its Founder's coat of arms, Kirkstall's seal was based on the arms of William de Peitevin.<sup>45</sup>

The monks did not experience the same hostility at Kirkstall as they had found at Barnoldswick. Endowments flowed in quickly once the move had been completed; probably, as has been seen, they had begun even before the move. It may have been the promise of such endowments that had finally persuaded them to move.

In every part of the de Lacy fee where the abbey's estates were eventually located the establishment of the abbey's territorial endowment was initiated by Henry de Lacy's immediate tenants. His appeal at the dedication of the church had not been in vain. Even if the writer of the *Fundacio* is guilty of some exaggeration in his mention of Henry's own gifts it is nevertheless likely that many of the gifts made by his tenants were made at Henry's suggestion and that the abbey owed its greater security in some measure to his closer proximity.

The *Fundacio* lists the areas in which land was acquired under the first abbot, 1147-82.<sup>46</sup> All such grants after the move to Kirkstall can be confirmed by charter evidence. 'First Barnoldswyck with Elfwynthrop and Brogden with its appurtenances. In Cliviger one carucate of land with its appurtenances<sup>47</sup> and pastures for horses and herds very plentiful. Oldfield,<sup>48</sup> Cookridge,<sup>49</sup> Brearey,<sup>50</sup> Horsforth,<sup>51</sup> Allerton,<sup>52</sup> Roundhay,<sup>53</sup> Thorpe,<sup>54</sup> a messuage in York,<sup>55</sup> Hooton<sup>56</sup> and

<sup>45</sup> 'A Rent-Roll of Kirkstall Abbey', ed. J. Stansfeld, *PTh.S.*, II (1891), 17. The seal is illustrated in plate I, fig. 1, facing p. 17.

<sup>46</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 181.

<sup>47</sup> *CB*, p. 193.

<sup>48</sup> *CB*, p. 179.

<sup>49</sup> The monks already held land in Cookridge when land was granted to them by William Paynel in 1172, *EYC*, VI, 249.

<sup>50</sup> *CB*, p. 82.

<sup>51</sup> *CB*, p. 71, no. xciv, is pre-1172, but there were several early grants in Horsforth.

<sup>52</sup> The early grant by Samson de Allerton was confirmed in Henry de Lacy's foundation charter, *CB*, p. 51.

<sup>53</sup> Confirmed in a charter by Henry II, *CB*, p. 214.

<sup>54</sup> Bishopthorpe, York, also confirmed by Henry II, *CB*, p. 214.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*; *CB*, p. 145.

<sup>56</sup> The renunciation of the land by Abbot Elias is recorded in *CB*, p. 9.

Bessacar<sup>57</sup> with two granges neighbouring to the abbey.’<sup>58</sup> Early granges are known in all these places except Thorpe and York.

Construction of the church was almost certainly begun while the monks were still at Barnoldswick. The buildings surrounding the cloister were also begun early and their construction was complete by the end of the abbacy of Alexander. The architects who have examined the abbey ruins find no reason to doubt the statement of the *Fundacio* that ‘the church and either dormitory . . . either refectory, the cloister and the chapter and other offices necessary within the abbey’ were built during this period.<sup>59</sup> Following early Cistercian practice the monks’ refectory was originally built lying east-west and not north-south, as it at present appears. The original arrangement of the windows and doorways can still be seen.<sup>60</sup> The lay-brothers’ refectory was situated at the southern end of the cellarium, adjoining the kitchen.<sup>61</sup>

According to the *Fundacio*<sup>62</sup> the buildings were partly provided by Henry de Lacy, who laid ‘with his own hand the foundations of the church and himself completed the whole fabric at his own cost’. The Latin makes clear, which the editor’s translation does not, that the reference is to the whole of the church and not to the whole of the monastery.<sup>63</sup> In completing the latter the abbey ran heavily into debt, for when Aaron, the Jew of Lincoln, died in 1186, Kirkstall, together with eight other Cistercian abbeys, owed him 6,400 marks.<sup>64</sup>

The death of the first abbot in 1182 provides a convenient point at which to summarise the early progress of the abbey. The community had survived the five difficult years at Barnoldswick and had secured a settlement on a new and distant site. The most important of its buildings, much of which remains to this day, had been erected in a most worthy manner, the foundations of its territorial endowment had been laid and the all-important grange system developed. By 1182 the abbey had gained a firm foothold in all the areas where its great estates were later to be developed.

<sup>57</sup> Dodsworth, VIII, f.74, printed in *CB*, p.156, n.3, and confirmed by Henry II, see Dugdale, *MA*, V, 535.

<sup>58</sup> Probably New Grange, the site of which is now Beckett Park, and Bar Grange, near the river at Burley.

<sup>59</sup> *Fundacio*, p.181. For a full description of the abbey buildings, see Hope and Bilson.

<sup>60</sup> Hope and Bilson, p.52.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p.56.

<sup>62</sup> *Fundacio*, p.180.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Totam Ecclesie fabricam . . . consummavit’, *Fundacio*, p.180.

<sup>64</sup> J. Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England* (1893), p.108.

## *The Abbey's Lands and Benefactors*

It was essential for the survival of a monastery that an adequate endowment in land should be built up and satisfactorily exploited. This was especially important for the Cistercians as they had, by the terms of their foundation, denied themselves sources of income which the Benedictines, for example, had been ready to accept. Undoubtedly the main reason why the Kirkstall community had decided to move from Barnoldswick was its failure significantly to increase its original endowment in that area and, because of poor weather and outside interference, its inability fully to exploit it. The basic reason for its greater success at Kirkstall must be the rapid growth of an adequate territorial endowment, no doubt made possible by the closer proximity of the de Lacys and the encouragement which they clearly gave to their tenants to support the new foundation. On the de Lacy lands in the Leeds area almost all the immediate sub-tenants became benefactors of the abbey.

It will be the purpose of this chapter briefly to review the growth and location of that territorial endowment and the most important contributors to it and then to look, in more detail, at some important implications for the community of land tenure during the period. The exploitation of that land will be the concern of a later chapter. Owing to the varied and often imprecise formulae used in the documents to describe grants of land no attempt can be made to assess the total extent of the endowment.

### *Barnoldswick*

The land at Barnoldswick is of particular interest, not only as the site on which the abbey was founded, but also as an example of one of the rare occasions when an area of monastic land can be marked on a map with some degree of precision. Following a dispute with Hugh Bigod about the Barnoldswick land Henry de Lacy petitioned Henry II for confirmation of his grant to the monks and in the document<sup>1</sup> defined the boundaries between the monks' land and his forest of Blackburnshire. The study of West Riding place-names by A. H. Smith<sup>2</sup> and the work of W. Farrer<sup>3</sup> enable the landmarks provided in the description to be identified with some

<sup>1</sup>CB, p.189.

<sup>2</sup>A. H. Smith, *The Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, Publications of the English Place-name Society, XXX-XXXVII (Cambridge, 1961-63).

<sup>3</sup>EYC, I, 507n.

confidence. On the north side the monks' land marched, not with Henry de Lacy's forest, but with lands of the honour of Skipton. The boundaries of the original grant were thus described:

. . . per rivum qui vocatur Blakebroc, et ita sursum ultra moram in directum usque ad Gailmers et ita in directum usque capud de Clessaghe, et in transversum montem qui vocatur Blacho et ita usque ad Oxegile, et ita per Oxgile sursum usque ad Pikedelawe qui vocatur Alainesete et de Pikedelawe usque ad antiquum fossatum inter Midhop et Colredene.<sup>4</sup>

When he re-granted the land, Hugh Bigod referred to

Totam terram de Bernolfwic cum Elfwinetrop et omnibus aliis appendiciis suis.<sup>5</sup>

A. H. Smith regards Elfwinetrop as possibly the early name for the part of Barnoldswick which became known as Coates,<sup>6</sup> a secondary settlement slightly to the north-east of the town. All the other names mentioned above Smith regards as field-names in the townships of Barnoldswick and Brogden. Some of these can be identified. Blakebroc may be the stream known as the County Brook, about three miles south of Barnoldswick on the county boundary. The hill of Blacho, now Blacko, is easily found; Midhop has become Middop and Colredene may be the modern Coverdale. Farrer identified Oxgill with the valley which runs northward between Weethead (Wheathead) and Burn Moor, now followed by part of the county boundary, and Pikedelawe, or Alainsete, with the high hill (1,253 feet) at the northern end of that valley.<sup>7</sup> The boundary on the north side would be that between Bracewell to the north of it and Brogden and Barnoldswick to the south.

An attempt can now be made to define the area covered by Henry de Lacy's grant. The boundary should run north and east of Coates and must link the places referred to in Henry's description. The resulting area is shown on the map (p.14) where parish and township boundaries have been used to link the points identified.<sup>8</sup>

Very early in the abbey's history the parish of Barnoldswick, which had included the 'four parochial villis' of Brogden, Bracewell, Elfwinetrop and the two Martons, was divided.<sup>9</sup> Bracewell

<sup>4</sup>CB, pp.189-90.

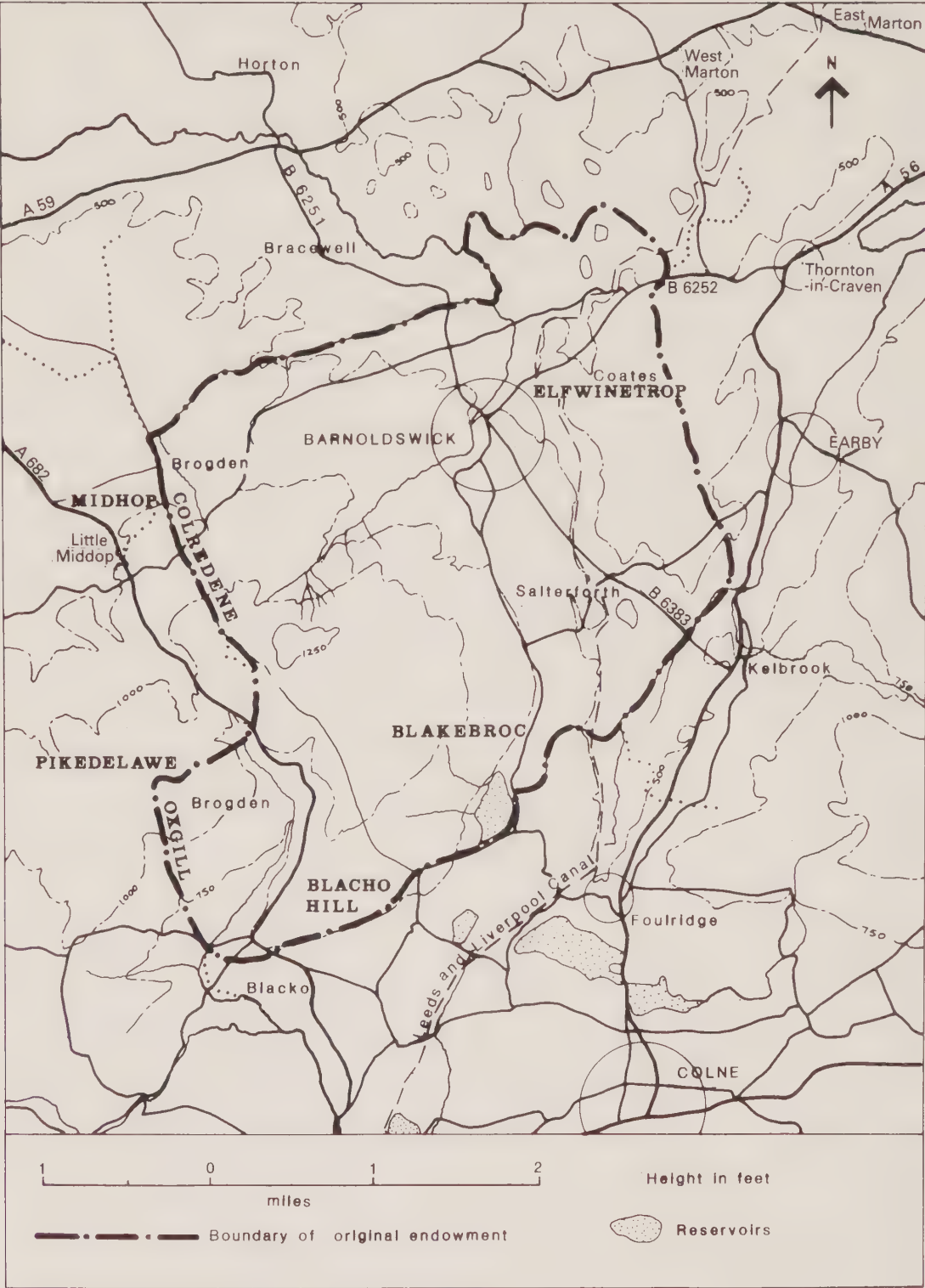
<sup>5</sup>CB, p.188.

<sup>6</sup>Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding*, XXXV (1961), 35-36.

<sup>7</sup>EYC, I, 507n.

<sup>8</sup>For a different view see R. A. Donkin, 'Settlement and Depopulation on Cistercian Estates during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXXIII (1960), 141-65.

<sup>9</sup>Zouche Chapel MS (Dean and Chapter of York), P 1 (2) i, printed in EYC, III, 164-66.



*The Abbey's Endowments at Barnoldswick*

and the two Martons became separate parishes, Kirkstall retaining the right of presentation to the two livings. The award was made by Archbishop Henry Murdac, who died in 1153. Since the monks are referred to throughout this rather long document as 'of Kirkstall' it seems likely that the date 1152-53 should be given for the division of the parish.

*Grants of Land, 1152-1260*

In the area around Leeds, where the estates of the abbey were to be mainly located, the greatest landholder among the tenants-in-chief was the abbey's founder, Henry de Lacy. Once settled in Kirkstall the first abbot, with Henry's support, was very successful in attracting donations to his house, and in a number of families support of the abbey continued through several generations.

Although Henry II's charter of confirmation<sup>10</sup> refers to 'that place of Kirkstall which they have by the gift of Henry de Lacy' the abbey site was in fact in William de Peitevin's fee, and the writer of the *Fundacio* describes the position more precisely when he writes that William 'at the instance of Henry'<sup>11</sup> conferred the land on the monks. The same charter includes Henry de Lacy's own grant of cow-pasture known as Brackenley where Roundhay grange was later established. William de Peitevin added half a carucate in East and four carucates in West Headingley, perhaps the land which became New Grange and Moor Grange.

The link with the de Peitevin family continued until the fourteenth century when, in 1324, Thomas died without heirs and the whole of the manor of Headingley was granted to the abbey,<sup>12</sup> which held it until the Dissolution.

Another family whose members had a long association with the abbey was that of Samson de Allerton. Samson's grant of land in Allerton, probably the district now known as Chapel Allerton, was among those confirmed by Henry de Lacy. Further grants were made until, early in the next century, 'all Allerton' was conveyed to the abbey by Adam, Samson's grandson. A grange was established there at an early date.<sup>13</sup> Meanwood was granted to the abbey about 1280 by William, son of Alexander, a tenant of the de Allerton family; Moor Allerton was granted about 1280 and there were later

<sup>10</sup> CB, p.214.

<sup>11</sup> *Fundacio*, p.178.

<sup>12</sup> *Calverley Charters*, p.161. This account very much simplifies a long and complex story, *ibid.*, pp.184, 196, 212. For the long court case by which Alexander de Peitevin tried unsuccessfully to recover the land, see CB, pp.304-10.

<sup>13</sup> CB, pp.51, 100, 105.

grants in Lofthouse, Potternewton<sup>14</sup> and in Allerton Gledhow during the fourteenth century. It is in Allerton that the abbey's holdings seem to have become most closely linked with tenants at all levels and where benefactions in any number continued longest.

Henry de Lacy's tenant in Bramley was William de Reinville who was one of his most important barons. His son, Adam, was seneschal at Pontefract while Henry was away on the crusade on which he lost his life, and served both Henry's son and grandson.<sup>15</sup> William's son, another William, added a piece of land which appears to have stretched along the south bank of the Aire opposite the abbey site from where Newlay Bridge now stands eastward to the point where a road from Armley reached the river.<sup>16</sup> The real expansion of the abbey's estates in Bramley took place during the first half of the next century through gifts by later members of the de Reinville family<sup>17</sup> and by the de Stapletons, their relations by marriage.<sup>18</sup> To solve his financial problems Robert de Stapleton eventually sold his holding to the abbey<sup>19</sup> so that the abbey then held all Bramley and Armley. This is one of only two cases of the purchase of land by the abbey which have been noted.<sup>20</sup>

Land in Seacroft was held by William Somerville, another of de Lacy's more notable tenants. His family had held land of Ilbert de Lacy when the Domesday Survey was made; they had links with the Scottish royal family, and William and his son were frequently among the witnesses to charters of David of Scotland. Soon after 1166 began the series of charters which conveyed nearly 100 acres of land to the abbey.<sup>21</sup> His son added valuable mineral rights.<sup>22</sup>

De Lacy's other tenant in Seacroft was Henry Wallis, whose family, like that of William de Reinville, held office in de Lacy's household,<sup>23</sup> but his grants were less extensive than those of the Somervilles.<sup>24</sup>

Land was granted in Shadwell by yet another of de Lacy's knights, Herbert de Arches, and by his brother, mother-in-law and brother, Richard.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>14</sup> 'Charters, Allerton', pp. 49, 52, 47.

<sup>15</sup> Wightman, *The Lacy Family*, pp. 103-05.

<sup>16</sup> CB, p. 62 and n.

<sup>17</sup> CB, pp. 256, 257, 259, 260.

<sup>18</sup> CB, p. 261; Bodleian Library, MS Top., Yorkshire e.2 (Watson MSS), f. 50.

<sup>19</sup> CB, pp. 263, 264.

<sup>20</sup> See also 'Charters, Allerton', p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> CB, pp. 121-26.

<sup>22</sup> Dodsworth, VIII, f. 58.

<sup>23</sup> EYC, III, 233.

<sup>24</sup> CB, pp. 51, 119-21.

<sup>25</sup> CB, pp. 133-35.

All this land in Roundhay, Seacroft and Shadwell was lost to the abbey in 1281 in return for an annual payment, in a settlement made by the earl of Lincoln which was intended to help the abbey out of serious financial difficulties.<sup>26</sup>

Expansion southwards was effectively sealed off by the lands of Temple Newsam. Grants to the abbey of land in Austhorpe and Osmondthorpe<sup>27</sup> made the Templars close neighbours.

The monks received a number of small and scattered grants of land to the south-west of their main areas of endowment, near Morley and towards Bradford. There were grants in Morley and Beeston by the de Beeston family<sup>28</sup> in the twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries, in Pudsey and Calverley<sup>29</sup> and in Bolling and Newhall, where the abbey had a sheepfold.<sup>30</sup>

Henry de Lacy's *caput honoris* was at Pontefract and in that area also and in spite of the proximity of other religious houses at Pontefract, Nostell and Monk Bretton, his tenants granted land to the abbey. Roger de Ledeston and Emma de Toulouse gave land in the fields of Pontefract itself; Hugh de Snydale, son of de Lacy's tenant of 1166 granted three and a half acres, and William Fitzgerald, who held one-third of a knight's fee in 1166, gave three acres.<sup>31</sup> Hugh de Toulston gave land between Ackton and Snydale and later one carucate in Loscoe, with access to the grange which had been established at Snydale.<sup>32</sup> The largest grant in Snydale was, however, made by Roger de Lacy, who, in confirming the grant of a house by his father, added three carucates of land, or half the Domesday assessment.<sup>33</sup> The de Stapleton family, who granted land in Bramley, also made grants in their own village of Stapleton, and Alan de Smeaton gave four acres at Smeaton.<sup>34</sup>

The most distant of the abbey's possessions were those in the de Lacy fee near to the Lancashire-Yorkshire border. The earliest, dating from the time of the first abbot, was at Cliviger,<sup>35</sup> south of Burnley, where a grange was established. There is some confusion about the tenure of this land. Abbot Lambert is said to have given it up,<sup>36</sup> but the abbey still held land in Cliviger when Henry de Lacy

<sup>26</sup> See below, pp.43-44.

<sup>27</sup> CB, pp.116-18, 133.

<sup>28</sup> CB, pp.245-46.

<sup>29</sup> Dugdale, MA, V, 541, 543.

<sup>30</sup> CB, pp.173, 170, 244.

<sup>31</sup> CB, pp.152-53.

<sup>32</sup> CB, pp.148-49, 150.

<sup>33</sup> CB, p.146.

<sup>34</sup> CB, pp.155, 154.

<sup>35</sup> Fundacio, p.181, confirmed by Robert de Lacy, CB, p.202.

<sup>36</sup> Fundacio, p.196.

helped the abbey out of its financial difficulties in 1287.<sup>37</sup> The land at Cliviger was said to have been given in exchange for the vill of Accrington, from which the inhabitants had been evicted. They returned, however, burnt the grange and killed the lay-brothers.<sup>38</sup> With Robert de Lacy's help peace was restored and the grange was held until 1287.

Other endowments were centred on Riston, or Rushton, fifteen miles NNW of Accrington and across the Yorkshire border in the district of Bowland. The grant was augmented by John de Lacy in two stages<sup>39</sup> and was held by the monks until the dissolution.

*Land at Adel and Acquisitions in the Paynel Fee*

Adel was not part of the de Lacy fee, but was held in chief by William Paynel and had once been part of a great honour which, before sub-division, had stretched into six counties in the north, midlands and south-west of England.<sup>40</sup> A convenient summary of lands held in Adel in 1198 is provided by a tithe agreement concluded in that year between the abbey and the church of Adel.<sup>41</sup> Land in Cookridge, Brearey, and East and West Burdon are all referred to.

The earliest grants were those in Cookridge and Brearey, referred to in the list of lands acquired under the first abbot,<sup>42</sup> who died in 1182. The Cookridge grant was by Paynel himself, but it is clear that the land was already held by the monks of Adam, one of Paynel's tenants and Paynel's grant included the homage and service of Adam and his family.<sup>43</sup> Soon afterwards and probably before 1174, Roger Mustel, whose associations are with Lincolnshire<sup>44</sup> and whose appearance in Yorkshire cannot be satisfactorily explained, extended this to the whole of Cookridge.<sup>45</sup> The grant at Brearey was by Robert de Brearey, and one of the early granges was established there.

The whole of the vill of Adel was granted in 1204 by William Mustel, Roger's son,<sup>46</sup> and this led to a dispute with Holy Trinity Priory, York, to whom the church had been granted on its re-foundation at the end of the eleventh century. The dispute lasted

<sup>37</sup> *Fundacio*, pp. 184–85.

<sup>38</sup> *CB*, p. 199.

<sup>39</sup> *CB*, pp. 202, 203.

<sup>40</sup> *EYC*, VI, 56–59.

<sup>41</sup> *CB*, p. 93.

<sup>42</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 181.

<sup>43</sup> *EYC*, VI, 249.

<sup>44</sup> Roger Mustel was a nephew of St Gilbert of Sempringham.

<sup>45</sup> *CB*, p. 79.

<sup>46</sup> *CB*, p. 78, confirmed by the Luttrells, who had succeeded the Paynels as tenant-in-chief, *CB*, p. 10.

until 1237 when the abbey was granted all the lands held in Adel by the priory.

Henry II's confirmation charter shows that six bovates of land at Bishopsthorpe, York, were granted by William Paynel. Roger, the priest of St Gregory at York, gave one toft outside Micklegate, the rent of which the abbey was still receiving at the Dissolution.<sup>47</sup>

#### *Other Land in the Leeds Area*

The abbey's first foothold in Horsforth came around the year 1180 when land in Horsforth and Keighley which Adam FitzPeter had granted to Haverholm Priory was demised to Kirkstall.<sup>48</sup> Horsforth and Rawdon were divided between de Bruce, the Meschins and the Leathleys. FitzPeter's land had been part of the Meschin fee. The larger grants in this area were all to come from the Leathleys. After a number of small grants, William Leathley conveyed to the abbey the whole of his land in Horsforth, except for six bovates which he had granted to the Templars.<sup>49</sup> These were soon conveyed to Kirkstall by the master of the Temple in England, making a total endowment of two carucates,<sup>50</sup> and the whole was confirmed by Hugh, son of William Leathley, in a charter which can be dated about 1220.<sup>51</sup>

The Mauleverers were tenants in the de Bruce part of the Horsforth fee. Robert FitzHubert granted the land on which Dean Grange was established. Mauleverer's 'free man', Nigel, also granted land in Horsforth, which was added to by his son and grandson.<sup>52</sup>

The abbey's considerable endowment in Bramhope began in the first generation of the settlement at Kirkstall.<sup>53</sup> By the end of the century almost the whole of Bramhope was shared between Kirkstall and St Leonard's Hospital, York.<sup>54</sup>

Slightly more distant was the important estate at Bardsey and Collingham. The land, known as Micklethwaite, was one of the abbey's earliest acquisitions, and a grange was established there. It was confirmed to them on the gift of Herbert de Morville and his

<sup>47</sup> CB, pp. 214, 145 and n.

<sup>48</sup> CB, p. 68.

<sup>49</sup> Dodsworth, XCI, f. 158.

<sup>50</sup> Dugdale, MA, V, p. 527n.

<sup>51</sup> Dodsworth, XCI, f. 157.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 157, 158; British Library, Add. MSS 17121; CB, p. 66.

<sup>53</sup> CB, p. 96.

<sup>54</sup> There is an incomplete list of holdings in Bramhope in Dugdale, MA, V, 538–40. Copies of some of the relevant charters are in British Library, Add. MSS 27413, 5–6b, 9b–11b, 22–25b.

son, Richard.<sup>55</sup> The abbey was dispossessed in 1173–74,<sup>56</sup> probably as a result of the involvement of the de Morevilles in the rebellion against the king. An attempt by the Abbot Helias to recover the grange was unsuccessful, but, on the petition of Roger de Lacy, it was re-granted to the abbey in 1205 on condition that it also took the manor of Bardsey and Collingham at a fee-farm of £90.<sup>57</sup> The land remained with the abbey until the Dissolution, but the site of the grange cannot now be precisely located.

### *Land around Bessacar*

The abbey's most southerly possessions were those around Bessacar and Cantley, about three and a half miles south-east of the centre of Doncaster and about thirty-two miles from the abbey. The land was held by Adam FitzPeter who, a little later, was involved in the grants in Horsforth and Keighley.<sup>58</sup>

William de Bessacar and William de Millerts granted land before 1162<sup>59</sup> and by the time William's son, Peter, confirmed and enlarged the grant, a grange and sheepfold had been established. Geoffrey de St Patrick gave twelve bovates in Bessacar and Hugh FitzHugh FitzNigel granted ten bovates in Brampton.<sup>60</sup>

Among the benefactors in Cantley was Reginald, grandson of William de Peitevin,<sup>61</sup> who had given the abbey its site at Kirkstall. Reginald held the land of Hugh FitzHugh, perhaps the grantor of the land in Brampton.

### *Some Implications of Land Tenure*

An attempt has been made to list all gifts to the abbey in the period up to about 1210, the date of the first compilation of the *Coucher Book*. One hundred and thirty-eight gifts and grants of various kinds have been noted, of which 126 are included in the *Coucher Book*.

Of these 138 gifts, 128 were of land. Only in eighty-six of them is there any indication in figures of the extent of the land conveyed, but this is quite enough to make clear the large differences in the size of the gifts. In some cases a whole vill was given: Cookridge by Roger Mustel in 1172–74, Adel by his son, William, in 1198–1204,

<sup>55</sup> CB, p.214.

<sup>56</sup> *Fundacio*, p.182.

<sup>57</sup> *Fundacio*, p.187.

<sup>58</sup> See above, p.19.

<sup>59</sup> CB, p.156, n.3; *EYC*, III, 156.

<sup>60</sup> CB, pp.156, 158, 165, 163.

<sup>61</sup> *Dodsworth*, VIII, f.75.

Allerton by Adam Samson,<sup>62</sup> and in a later period the manor of Headingley was given in 1324 by John de Calverley.<sup>63</sup> Of the grants where some idea of size was given the largest was that of Robert de Lacy, who gave three carucates in Snydale.<sup>64</sup> Fifty-three gifts were measured only in acres, and of these thirty-three were of five acres or less and six were of only one acre. A number were gifts of assarts. Occasionally the size of an assart is given and this varies between eight and eleven<sup>65</sup> acres. The only indication of the size of a culture, another common unit of grant, was at Wetecroft where Robert FitzAsketin said his culture extended for 'one acre and three rods'.<sup>66</sup>

Of the ten gifts which were not of land, three were of annual payments in cash. Henry de Lacy gave one mark each year for the vesting of the abbot, and half a mark to keep a light burning in the church before the Blessed Sacrament. Samson de Allerton gave five shillings a year to the monks 'to make them a pittance on St Lawrence's Day'<sup>67</sup> and Robert de Stapleton, shortly after this early period, released a rent of half a mark so that the monks could receive a pittance every St Botolph's Day (17 June), his father's birthday.<sup>68</sup> Four were gifts of buildings,<sup>69</sup> two were grants of rights of way and the other was a gift of twenty cart-loads of hay.<sup>70</sup>

No grants of rent are referred to in the records surviving from this early period<sup>71</sup> but it is clear from a fourteenth-century case that such grants were made. Gifts of rent in Cleckheaton by Eudo de Longvillers and his son, John, were referred to in a case heard in York in 1348.<sup>72</sup> Eudo was one of Henry de Lacy's knights in 1166, so that his gift must belong to the early days of the house.

A number of charters begin 'omnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris',<sup>73</sup> suggesting that they were perhaps at some point read aloud publicly, and there is evidence that boundaries were sometimes walked to establish the precise identity of the land conveyed. Peter de Bessacar granted all the land which belonged to his fee 'per

<sup>62</sup> EYC, VI, 249; CB, pp.78, 100.

<sup>63</sup> *Calverley Charters*, p.161.

<sup>64</sup> CB, p.146

<sup>65</sup> CB, pp.246, 174.

<sup>66</sup> CB, p.115.

<sup>67</sup> CB, pp.54, 55; Dodsworth, VIII, f.47b.

<sup>68</sup> CB, p.264.

<sup>69</sup> CB, pp.55, 97, 132; EYC, III, 202.

<sup>70</sup> CB, pp.73, 183, 200.

<sup>71</sup> For later grants of rent, see below, p.41.

<sup>72</sup> CB, pp.278-83.

<sup>73</sup> E.g., CB, pp.201, 262.

metas et divisas quas coram subscriptis testibus perambulavimus', and the line of a fence or ditch between Newhall and Bolling to protect the monks' field from their neighbours' beasts was agreed 'secundum . . . perambulationem per viros legales et fideles factam'.<sup>74</sup>

Occasionally a gift was made in court. The gift of land in Burdon by Hugh de Burdon and his wife, Beatrix, was made before the king's justices at Doncaster and Richard de Barkston's grant at Bishopthorpe in 1202 was also made before royal justices, including the Bishop of Norwich. Richard de Wetecroft's gift in Wetecroft was made in the presence of the court of the wapentake of Skyrack, meeting at Wigton windmill.<sup>75</sup> William de Leathley involved his men at Horsforth in the gift of Northcrofts. Agreement was reached between the monks and the men of Horsforth about the land to be given, William confirmed the land which his men had conceded to the monks, rent was to be paid to the men 'and so that my men shall concede this in a good spirit, the monks have given them half a mark of silver'.<sup>76</sup>

All these grants include some reason for the donation, generally 'pro salute anime mee' or 'pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et heredum'. William, son of Nicholas de Allerton, granted land within the ditch around the grange at Allerton 'ut participemus orationum et elemosinarum que fiunt in domo predictorum monachorum'.<sup>77</sup> Robert FitzHubert granted land in Horsforth 'pro animabus patris et matris sue et omnium parentum suorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum . . . et ut ipse et heredes sui participes fierent omnium beneficiorum que fiunt in ecclesia'.<sup>78</sup> We should perhaps not assume too hastily that all such expressions were merely conventional.<sup>79</sup>

In thirteen of the 138 grants at present under consideration the abbey made a gift to the donor at the time of his grant 'pro recognitione' or 'pro caritate'.<sup>80</sup> The gift was sometimes a sum of money but more often money with a gift in kind and even presents for the rest of the family. Roger de Ledston was given one mark of silver and half a basket of corn, but Hugh FitzRobert received two marks of silver and two horses and two cows, while his wife was

<sup>74</sup> CB, pp. 161, 170.

<sup>75</sup> CB, pp. 85, 113.

<sup>76</sup> CB, pp. 77, 92.

<sup>77</sup> CB, p. 108.

<sup>78</sup> CB, p. 71.

<sup>79</sup> See B. D. Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century* (Urbana, 1968), pp. 53–54, for a discussion of the motives of early Cistercian founders and benefactors.

<sup>80</sup> CB, pp. 114, 113.

given two cows. Robert FitzAsketin received twenty solidi and a horse, his wife twenty ewes and his daughter a bridle for her horse.<sup>81</sup>

Of these 138 grants all but one were grants in frankalmoin, that is the word 'elemosina' is included in the formula which describes their form of tenure. The exception is the grant of Collingham and Bardsey in fee-farm by King John.<sup>82</sup> 'A gift in free and pure alms to God and his saints has meant not merely, perhaps not principally, that the land is to owe no rent, no military service to the donor, but also and in the first place that it is to be subject only to the law and courts of the church'.<sup>83</sup> Maitland's view has since been emphasised by a number of other writers.<sup>84</sup> There would seem therefore to be two aspects of frankalmoin tenure which should be considered: the jurisdiction of the courts and the services which might be demanded of holders of land held in frankalmoin.

Maitland surmised that 'a glance at any monastic annals of the twelfth century is likely to show that the ecclesiastical tribunals, even the Roman curia, were constantly busy with the title to English lands'.<sup>85</sup> The Kirkstall documents available do not support Maitland's suggestion, though none of the known documents relating to land cases is earlier than 1198. No dispute about title to land is recorded during this early period, and throughout the history of the abbey any dispute about land was heard in the royal courts,<sup>86</sup> either at Westminster or by the justices on assize, generally at York, but also at Doncaster, Lancaster and Northampton. The only cases on record which were heard before church courts were those concerning tithes.

The question of services is more complicated. Frankalmoin tenure was, in the twelfth century, primarily concerned with jurisdiction and only secondarily with the exclusion of secular service. It was, in any case, impossible for any tenant to release land from the services which it bore, so that when land was re-granted it

<sup>81</sup> CB, pp. 152, 72, 115.

<sup>82</sup> CB, p. 218.

<sup>83</sup> F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law*, 2nd edn, reissued with a new introduction and select bibliography by S. F. C. Milsom, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1968), I, 251.

<sup>84</sup> E. G. Kimball, 'Tenure in Frankalmoign and Secular Services', *EHR*, XLIII (1928), 341-53; F. M. Stenton, *Transcripts of Charters relating to Gilbertine Houses*, Lincoln Record Society, XVIII (1922), xxvii; Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>85</sup> Pollock and Maitland, p. 251.

<sup>86</sup> E. G. Kimball, 'The Judicial Aspects of Frankalmoign Tenure', *EHR*, XLVII (1932), 11, concluded that lay courts began to assume jurisdiction over church land soon after the beginning of the thirteenth century.

was necessary to decide where the burden of services lay. Of the 138 grants rent or services are mentioned in only thirty-eight.<sup>87</sup> In cases where service was not mentioned it was, presumably, borne by the lord.<sup>88</sup> Robert Wallis was to receive from the monks for land in Seacroft eight *solidi* annually 'ad servicium faciendum'.<sup>89</sup> Bracton distinguished grants of land in which the word 'pure' was included from those where it was not. 'To sum up briefly Bracton's theory, it is this: land may be granted in free or free and perpetual alms for a service due to the donor, or in free, pure and perpetual alms for no such service'.<sup>90</sup> The Kirkstall documents give some support to this view. Of the 117 frankalmoin grants in the *Coucher Book* 110 include the word pure in the terms of the tenure; in only eighteen of them is rent or service demanded, that is in two grants in every thirteen. Of the grants not including the word 'pure' fourteen out of fifteen include a rent charge. It is not possible to date these documents sufficiently closely to see whether these differences in terminology and the exaction of rent represent a developing practice in frankalmoin in the half-century at present under consideration.

Rents varied in amount from one *denarius* to three marks per year, and were usually paid in two instalments, at Pentecost and at the feast of St Martin (11 November). For land described in bovates the rate was fairly uniform at 1s. per bovat per year, but where the land was described in carucates the rate varied from 5s. 10d. to one mark<sup>91</sup> per carucate, both in Headingley, though it was most often 8s., that is still at 1s. per bovat. Where land was described in acres the rates varied widely, from about 1/2d. per year in Pontefract to 1s. per acre per year in nearby Darrington.<sup>92</sup> Rent was occasionally demanded in kind; for example, the pound of pepper annually for land in Snyderdale and the pound of cummin from Rawdon.<sup>93</sup>

The total of all rents payable by the abbey on lands granted up to about 1210 amounted to £10 5s. 9d. If with this is compared the fee-farm of £90 for the land at Collingham and Bardsey granted by King John,<sup>94</sup> the wholly exceptional nature of this grant, both in

<sup>87</sup>In two of these 38 gifts forinsec service only is required, leaving 36 where an annual payment of some kind is demanded, that is, about a quarter. Hill (*English Cistercian Monasteries*, p.72) misled by the small sample which he examined, concluded that the number was about a half.

<sup>88</sup>Pollock and Maitland, p.245.

<sup>89</sup>CB, p.121.

<sup>90</sup>Kimball, 'Tenure in Frankalmoign and Secular Services', pp.342-43.

<sup>91</sup>CB, pp.64, 57.

<sup>92</sup>Seven acres for a rent of 4d. annually, CB, pp.153, 152.

<sup>93</sup>CB, pp.148, 67.

<sup>94</sup>CB, p.218.

the size of the rent demanded and in the terms of the grant, becomes apparent, though it is exceptional only in its being held by a monastic house and not by a layman.<sup>95</sup>

It is worth examining the way in which rents are described in the charters where an annual payment is demanded. In some it is simply 'reddendo annuatim . . . ii solidos' or 'monachi dabunt mihi annuatim ii solidos',<sup>96</sup> but in a large number the money payment is clearly regarded not as a payment for the use of land or buildings but as a commutation of services due from the land. Thus the abbey will pay to Roger de Ledstone 'iii denarios . . . pro omnibus serviciis que ad terram pertinent' and to William de Peitevin and his heirs 'singulis annis unam tantum marcam pro omnibus serviciis et consuetudinibus que mihi vel dominis meis pertinent'.<sup>97</sup>

In the fourteenth century the use of the word 'redditum' for rent is more usual, but the idea that such a payment was in place of services remained.<sup>98</sup>

Of the 138 early grants, services other than rents are demanded in eleven instances and of these ten refer to 'forinsec service'.<sup>99</sup> Stenton argued that 'in the reign of Henry II this phrase has not yet become a synonym for military service,<sup>100</sup> but in all the Kirkstall documents the context makes it clear that it is in fact military service which is being demanded. The formula is usually 'faciendo forense servicium, quantum pertinet ad dimidiam carrucatem terre, unde viginti carrucate faciunt feodum unius militis'.<sup>101</sup> The remarkable point about such grants is the extent to which knights' fees had been divided. In one case only, that of Adel,<sup>102</sup> did the abbey hold by the service of a whole knight. The equivalents of one-eighth, one-sixteenth, one-nineteenth, three-twentieths, one twenty-fourth and one-fortieth of the service of a knight's fee are demanded, and in one instance, even one one-hundred-and-ninety-second!<sup>103</sup> The land

<sup>95</sup> William de Stutevill held the same land for £100, *CB*, p.217.

<sup>96</sup> *CB*, p.77, see also *ibid.*, pp.78, 99, 72.

<sup>97</sup> *CB*, p.152; for example, p.59.

<sup>98</sup> E.g., Allerton, *CB*, pp.84, 85.

<sup>99</sup> The exception is *CB*, p.195, where service is demanded but not specified.

<sup>100</sup> F. M. Stenton, *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, V (1920), p.cxxvii.

<sup>101</sup> *CB*, p.99.

<sup>102</sup> *CB*, p.78.

<sup>103</sup> *CB*, p.175. 'Quantum pertinet ad unam bovetam, unde xii carrucate faciunt feodum dimidii militie.'

which formed the equivalent of a knight's fee varied across the area in which Kirkstall held land. The following table gives some idea of the variation:

<i>Carucates per knight's fee</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
6½	Bramley	CB, 257
8	Headingley	CB, 65
10	Wetecroft	CB, 131
12	Eastburn	CB, 186
12½	Eastburn	CB, 187
14	Keighley	CB, 224
16*	Allerton	CB, 106
20	Burdon	CB, 86
24*	Pudsey	CB, 175

\* Expressed in the charter as half a knight's fee and here raised to the equivalent of a whole fee.

As Maitland has commented, 'the appearance of small fractional parts of a knight's fee could hardly be explained, were it not that the king had been in the habit of taking money in lieu of military service, of taking scutage . . .',<sup>104</sup> and the position is made absolutely clear by Robert de Brearey in his gift of land in Brearey:

Monachi vero facient forense servitium, hoc est quantum pertinet ad nonamdecimam partem servicii militis. Ita tamen quod nec hominem nec equum nec arma invenient, sed per denarios suos terram defendent.<sup>105</sup>

The date of this grant is earlier than 1198 and it may even belong to the time of the first abbot.<sup>106</sup>

All the charters include a sentence of warranty undertaking, for example, to 'defend the said land to the monks everywhere and against all men'. It is possible that the grant at Newhall by Hugh Vavasour<sup>107</sup> was to make good a loss to the monks. It was granted 'in escambium illius bove te quam Matildis filia Roberti dirationavit versus me et eosdem monachos coram Justiciariis itinerantibus'. William Paynel granted to the Hospitallers land in

<sup>104</sup> Pollock and Maitland, p.256.

<sup>105</sup> CB, p.82.

<sup>106</sup> It is included in the tithe agreement with Adel church, CB, p.93. Land at Brearey is included in the list in *Fundacio*, p.181.

<sup>107</sup> CB, p.172.

Hooton Pagnell in exchange for land granted to them in Eccup and Adel<sup>108</sup> which they had lost at the time of Kirkstall's expansion into the Adel area.

Occasionally the warranty was more specific. Robert de Burdon promised that if by chance he or his heirs were unable to warrant the land they would give to them 'an exchange in the same vill to the same value'.<sup>109</sup> Robert de Lacy promised land in exchange to the same value from his demesne.<sup>110</sup>

Gifts or grants to the abbey during the first century of its history were almost all gifts of land. Of the 138 gifts during the first half of that century only one or perhaps two were of rent. In the second half-century the proportion rose to thirteen out of seventy-six or about one grant in six. Over the half-century 1260–1310, of a much smaller number of grants, the proportion had risen to three in every five. After that the operation of the statute *Quia Emptores* created an entirely different situation. These figures of rents relate only to new grants and not to land rented to tenants after it had been granted to the abbey. It was in this latter way that the greater part of the abbey's income from rents was gained.

#### *Grants of Land in the Later Period*

Some attempt must now be made to explain the falling off in grants to the abbey which has been noted above. Clearly factors operating generally throughout the country and even throughout the western Church affected Kirkstall also. While it would be a mistake to talk of a lack of, or even a decline in, religious fervour in the age of Grosseteste and Alexander of Hales, of the impact of the friars on England, of the great religious buildings at Westminster and many of our greatest cathedrals, yet, as far as the older orders were concerned, their 'early fertility had gone'<sup>111</sup> and the foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Hayles in 1251 'was in a sense the end of a chapter. It was the furthest wash of the tide from Cîteaux'.<sup>112</sup>

There is, however, a particular factor which needs more careful examination. It has been argued that grants of land to monasteries reduced the services available to overlords and to the Crown.<sup>113</sup> The case has not been proved.<sup>114</sup> There are a number of examples

<sup>108</sup> EYC, VI, 256.

<sup>109</sup> CB, p.90.

<sup>110</sup> CB, p.202.

<sup>111</sup> Knowles, RO, I, 5.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p.6.

<sup>113</sup> Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries*, p.60.

<sup>114</sup> See review of B. D. Hill's book by S. Wood, *EHR*, LXXXIV (1969), 824.

described in the *Coucher Book* and elsewhere<sup>115</sup> from the period 1256–1314 which show the overlord enforcing by distraint services due from land which had been granted to the abbey. The cases arose where the abbot had been distrained upon for service, generally suit of court but in one case for scutage as well, because the tenant of whom the abbey held land had failed to quit the abbey of the service due to his lord. The cases related to land in Darrington, Horsforth and Keighley, West Armley and Adel respectively. The first three were initiated by the abbot to recover the loss he claimed to have suffered through his being required to undertake services which should have been performed by the mesne tenant between the abbey and the lord to whom the services were due. In all four cases the abbot's right to quittance of services by the terms of his grant was upheld. The Horsforth and Keighley case was complicated when the respondent, in this case Adam de Everingham, argued that the abbot had never been distrained to perform the services which he (Adam) should have performed.

These cases make it clear that grants in frankalmoin did not necessarily result in loss of services to the overlord and that where he was determined to do so services could be enforced.

Plucknett has discussed this situation<sup>116</sup> and concluded that 'the old action of mesne where the sub-tenant could compel the mesne to do his duty to the lord was slow and cumbersome and in any case was ineffective'. The procedure may have been slow and cumbersome – the Horsforth and Keighley case lasted for at least seven years (1307–14) – but it does not seem to have been ineffective in the cases described.

Hill might have been on firmer ground had he distinguished between feudal services and feudal incidents.<sup>117</sup> It has been emphasised by a number of writers<sup>118</sup> that it was dissatisfaction among the lords about loss of feudal incidents from lands granted to religious houses which led to considerable discontent in the thirteenth century, expressed first of all in Magna Carta, then in enactments by successive parliaments and culminating in the statute of mortmain in 1279. 'His new tenant [that is, the monastery] never died, and so there was no ward to be in wardship, to pay relief or to

<sup>115</sup> CB, p.145; p.231 and the sequel, p.227; p.234 and C. W. Foster, ed., *Final Concords of the County of Lincoln*, II, Lincoln Record Society, XVII (1920), 114.

<sup>116</sup> T. F. T. Plucknett, *Legislation of Edward I* (Oxford, 1949), pp.92–94.

<sup>117</sup> For a useful account of feudal incidents with special reference to the period in question, see J. M. W. Bean, *The Decline of English Feudalism* (Manchester, 1968), pp.6–16.

<sup>118</sup> Plucknett, pp.94–100; Bean, pp.51–53.

be married, and no possibility of escheat for felony or for failure of heirs.<sup>119</sup> The sharp decline in grants to Kirkstall coincides with the period when action was being taken in Parliament to reduce grants to religious houses without the authority of the overlord.<sup>120</sup> The Kirkstall figures also show clearly that grants had seriously declined well before the statute of mortmain was promulgated and it would be difficult to show that the statute had any effect at all upon new grants to the abbey.

The process by which, after the statute, land was acquired by religious bodies<sup>121</sup> can be illustrated fully from the Kirkstall documents. A precept for the necessary inquisition *ad quod damnum*, in this case dated 1312 and in respect of a proposed grant by William de Peitevin of land in Headingley, is printed in the *Coucher Book*<sup>122</sup> and the findings of the inquisition in 1323 which preceded John of Calverley's grant of the manor of Headingley are given in full.<sup>123</sup> Of the thirty-one licences issued to Kirkstall<sup>124</sup> the related inquisitions can be identified for all but one,<sup>125</sup> this being the appropriation of the church of Bracewell<sup>126</sup> in 1347. The licence to alienate issued by Richard II in respect of grants by Sir John Mauleverer and Elizabeth Bendy is included in full in the *Monasticon*,<sup>127</sup> and in many cases the charter which recorded the conveyance of the land is known.

The practice of using a general licence to acquire land or rent up to a certain amount is said to have been introduced in order to reduce the amount which would have to be paid in fines.<sup>128</sup> On one occasion only did Kirkstall make use of such a facility. Grants up to a total value of £20 were allowed.<sup>129</sup> Although it has not been possible to trace all the grants which made up this total it is clear that this general licence did not obviate the need for an inquisition in each case.

As the fourteenth century progressed it became increasingly usual for the licence to be issued to the abbey to acquire land from more than one donor and under the name of one donor to include a very varied

<sup>119</sup> Plucknett, p.95.

<sup>120</sup> Bean, p.51.

<sup>121</sup> See a useful short article by A. Gooder, 'Mortmain and the Local Historian', *The Local Historian*, IX (1971), 387-93.

<sup>122</sup> CB, p.339.

<sup>123</sup> CB, p.300

<sup>124</sup> CPR, *passim*.

<sup>125</sup> Inquisitions *ad quod damnum* are listed in PRO, *Lists and Indexes*, I (1904); II (1906).

<sup>126</sup> CPR, 1345-48, p.431.

<sup>127</sup> Dugdale, MA, V, 545.

<sup>128</sup> K. L. Wood-Legh, *Studies in Church Life under Edward III* (Cambridge, 1934), p.64.

<sup>129</sup> CPR, 1307-13, p.434.

grant. It looks as if licences were not applied for until a number of proposed grants could be dealt with at the same time and this again might be expected to reduce the costs of the operation. A licence issued in 1377<sup>130</sup> covered grants by six donors and one of the licences issued in 1392<sup>131</sup> covered three donors, of which the grants by William de Horbury and John Chapman, both of Yeadon, were described as follows:

. . . one messuage in York held of the King in burgage; 10 messuages 9 tofts, 6 bovates, 77 acres of land, 15 of land, 15 of meadow, 6s. 6d. rent in Bardsey, Ecup, Horsforth, Armley, Headingley, Allerton Gledhow.

William de Horbury and John Chapman do not appear elsewhere in the abbey records, either as benefactors or as witnesses to charters. The same is true of William de Lepton of Wortley and William Poyd of Adel and of William Spyrard, all of whom were similarly involved in licences to alienate in mortmain at about this time. These men were perhaps acting as agent for the donors or possibly as executors.<sup>132</sup> This suggestion is supported by the survival of a power of attorney granted to William de Lepton by Henry the Cowhird [*sic*] of Collingham in respect of a grant of land to Kirkstall, and also by indications in a number of charters that the land was part of the estate of a deceased person. Richard Marshall granted land 'of the gift and enfeoffment of' Horbury and Chapman which had once belonged to William Webster and Matilda, Marshall's mother.<sup>133</sup> In 1392 the abbey was given licence to acquire from William Spyrard land which the charter shows to have been formerly of Richard, son of William Brown.<sup>134</sup> William de Lepton and William Poyd of Adel granted to the abbey 'all the lands which we have from the gift and enfeoffment of John Attewood'.<sup>135</sup> It is clear that if the estate of a deceased person was to pass to the abbey it would be necessary for the land to be held by someone while the procedure for securing the licence was followed. In 1393 William Baxter, rector of Adel, conveyed to Kirkstall two messuages and a considerable amount of land in Brearey, Arthington and Allerton Gledhow with which he had been enfeoffed by John de Brearey, descendant of the Brearey family which had been associated with the abbey since its early days

<sup>130</sup> *CPR*, 1377-81, p.64.

<sup>131</sup> *CPR*, 1391-96, p.43.

<sup>132</sup> Cf., Gooder, p.391.

<sup>133</sup> 'Charters, Allerton', p.99.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p.98.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p.103.

in Airedale. Here again William Baxter appears to have been acting as agent or executor for John de Brearey.<sup>136</sup>

To what extent the overlord or 'the chief lord of whom the thing is immediately held' should be consulted in the acquisition of land by the church was a question which had been very much the concern of the parliaments of the middle years of the thirteenth century. The statute ignored it but the form of licence used by Edward I referred to the 'licence of us and of the chief lord of whom the thing is immediately held'.<sup>137</sup> In one case, among the licences to acquire land issued to Kirkstall, leave was granted to acquire land from Robert Mauleverer, Richard Marshall, Edmund Frank and William de Brighton all of whom held a considerable amount of land in Allerton Gledhow.<sup>138</sup> Frank was the heir of all the land held by the de Allerton family who had been among the abbey's earliest benefactors and whose association with the abbey had been continuous since that time; Mauleverer was the representative of a family with interests in Horsforth, Rawdon and Allerton. The Marshalls had held land in Allerton for nearly two centuries and were successively witnesses to many grants of land there. In the event no land was granted by these men. It seems likely that the licence to acquire land from them referred to land which would be granted by their tenants. The 'chief lords' were thus involved from the beginning and subsequent actions which might have led to forfeiture would be avoided.<sup>139</sup> On some occasions the 'chief lord' gave permission before the land was acquired. This was done by William Killingbeck before Henry the Cowhird and Mary, his wife, made their grant<sup>140</sup> and John Scot, Robert Mauleverer and their sons gave permission to acquire land formerly held by John Attewood.<sup>141</sup>

It is possible in a number of cases during the fourteenth century to link the initial inquisition, the licence to alienate and the final grant of land. In a number of other cases, however, the link between the licence to alienate and the grant can be made only if one of the above possibilities is allowed; that is, that the licence is given to the abbey to acquire land from someone who is not the real donor but someone who is acting either for him or his overlord. The mass of grants in the Allerton area in 1392–93 can only be satisfactorily accounted for on

<sup>136</sup> *CPR*, 1391–96, p.283; Bodleian Library, MS Top., Yorkshire e 2 (Watson MSS), f.31.

<sup>137</sup> Plucknett, p.100.

<sup>138</sup> *CPR*, 1391–96, p.43.

<sup>139</sup> For such an action, see Plucknett, p.101.

<sup>140</sup> 'Charters, Allerton', p.103.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p.96.

this basis. This still, however, leaves a number of grants not fully explained. It has been emphasised how rigorously the statute was enforced.<sup>142</sup> There are, however, among the Kirkstall charters grants which, on the evidence available, suggest that grants were made without the necessary licence having been obtained.<sup>143</sup> There are also examples of licences to alienate not apparently followed by a grant of land,<sup>144</sup> but this is more easily understood and may well result from loss of evidence or from a proposed course of action not carried through.

On two occasions Kirkstall was pardoned for acquiring land without the necessary licence. On one of these, for a payment of eighteen marks, they were allowed to keep the three houses in York which they had acquired illegally.<sup>145</sup>

The other great statute of Edward I's reign which directly affected grants of land was *Quia Emptores* of 1290. The expected effect was that newly acquired lands would be by substitution and not by further subinfeudation and the creation of new tenures. Where we have evidence this is exactly what emerges. When Headingley was granted to the abbey by John de Calverley in 1324<sup>146</sup> the abbot became the tenant of the 'chief lord' at Pontefract instead of John de Calverley. A number of grants in Allerton were grants which had been previously held by someone else; for example, the land granted by Henry the Cowherd was 'formerly of William Hagger and Cecily his wife'. Richard Marshall granted land which was once of William Webster and Matilda, Marshall's mother; the land granted by William Spyrard was described as 'once of Richard Brown, son of William Brown of Allerton aforesaid'.<sup>147</sup>

The acquisition of the manor of Headingley, and indeed of any land held by military tenure might involve the abbot not only in services due to the overlord, but also in the receipt of services and incidents due from his tenants. Thus land in Allerton, formerly held by William de Morwyck and by William and Margaret de Couthorp<sup>148</sup> was acquired with wardships, fealties, reliefs, escheats, suits of court and other services. Only on one occasion can the abbot be seen performing any of the duties attached to such a lordship, when, in 1526, he disposed of Jennett Watson in marriage with William, son of Richard Rookes of Roydes Hall.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Wood-Legh, p.61.

<sup>143</sup> E.g., 'Charters, Allerton', pp.81, 86, 89.

<sup>144</sup> E.g., *CPR*, 1334-38, p.72.

<sup>145</sup> *CPR*, 1408-13, p.241; see also *CPR*, 1307-13, p.436.

<sup>146</sup> *Calverley Charters*, p.161.

<sup>147</sup> 'Charters, Allerton', pp.104, 99, 97.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p.84.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p.111.

## *Economic Organization and Development*

### *Granges and Lay-brothers*

The Cistercian order had begun as a purely spiritual movement, asking of the world only enough to provide the bare necessities of life. Yet, before the order was a century old, it had made an enormous impact on the economic life of western Europe. This was due partly to the great popularity of the order, associated especially with the personality of St Bernard, which carried its influence far and wide, but also to the Cistercians' revolutionary agrarian organization, based on its granges and lay-brothers.<sup>1</sup>

The establishment of granges goes back to the earliest days of the history of Kirkstall Abbey. When the community moved to its permanent site their 'first seat' was 'reduced to a grange';<sup>2</sup> Micklethwaite is referred to as a grange in the days of the first abbot;<sup>3</sup> granges at Allerton, Bessacar and Oldfield (Keighley) are referred to in charters which may well date from the same time<sup>4</sup> and 'two granges neighbouring the abbey' – perhaps Bar Grange (Burley) and New Grange (West Headingley) – are included in the list of lands acquired under the same abbot. To the last years of the century belong the Accrington grange,<sup>5</sup> established under Abbot Lambert during the years 1190–93, and possibly also granges at Brearey, Cookridge and Snydale.<sup>6</sup> The grange at Hooton Pagnell must also have been established early as it was relinquished to the Luttrell family in 1204.<sup>7</sup> By 1288 there were, in addition to these, a second grange near Keighley known as Elam, and others at Burley (as well as Bar Grange) and Moor Grange (Headingley).<sup>8</sup> The grange for the lands in Bolland was at Rushton.<sup>9</sup>

A total of twenty-five granges can be identified, not all of them active at the same time. Cliviger was short-lived<sup>10</sup> and was replaced by Accrington,<sup>11</sup> which, with the grange at Roundhay, was lost to

<sup>1</sup> Knowles, *MO*, pp. 215–16. L. J. Lekai, *The White Monks* (Okauchee, Wis., 1953), pp. 209–13.

<sup>2</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> *CB*, pp. 104, 159, 179.

<sup>5</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 184.

<sup>6</sup> The grange at Snydale is referred to in *CB*, p. 148, which is pre-1210.

<sup>7</sup> *CB*, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> *PRO*, E142/86/1.

<sup>9</sup> *CB*, p. 203, a charter of John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, and therefore 1232–40.

<sup>10</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 184.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

the earl of Lincoln when he helped the abbey out of its financial difficulties in 1287.<sup>12</sup> Some granges appear only late in the abbey's history. Some, for example, Wether Grange (Bramley), appear first in the 1459 rent-roll, while others, such as New Lathes (Horsforth) and the second grange at Allerton, are first mentioned at the Dissolution.<sup>13</sup> A further possibility is that the same grange appears under different names. For example, Dean Grange was at Horsforth, but whether this is the same as the grange at Horsforth<sup>14</sup> cannot be decided with certainty. It seems likely that there were about twenty granges in the last century of the abbey's history, most of them by this time let for rent.

The size of granges shows wide variation. In 1288 Compton (possibly Micklethwaite) comprised 444 acres, while Dean Grange (Horsforth) had only 95 acres and Elam (Keighley) only 48.<sup>15</sup>

Of the lay-brothers in the early days little can be said. We are told that ten lay-brothers accompanied the monks who left Fountains in 1147.<sup>16</sup> One would expect a large increase in that number during the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>17</sup>

Little is known of the organisation of the granges; Knowles has seen the thirteenth century as the period when, as 'primitive zeal was lost', lay-brothers replaced monk-wardens in charge of granges.<sup>18</sup> The grange at Accrington was 'ruled by' three lay-brothers, Norman, Humphrey and Robert, before the end of the twelfth century,<sup>19</sup> but this was a distant grange and perhaps therefore not typical. Adam, a lay-brother, was described as a 'grangarius' of Micklethwaite in a document which may belong to the middle years of the thirteenth century,<sup>20</sup> and in 1276 brother Peter was granger at Barnoldswick.<sup>21</sup>

What staff the three lay-brothers at Accrington might have 'ruled over' is not indicated. Abbot Lambert is said to have 'removed the inhabitants' of the vill of Accrington,<sup>22</sup> but it is possible that 'even where depopulation is alleged to have occurred its effect can seldom have been complete'.<sup>23</sup> There are many references to grants of

<sup>12</sup> See below, pp. 43–44.

<sup>13</sup> Account 1539–40.

<sup>14</sup> CB, p. 77.

<sup>15</sup> Figures from the 1288 extent.

<sup>16</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 174.

<sup>17</sup> Knowles, *MO*, p. 348.

<sup>18</sup> Knowles, *RO*, I, 74.

<sup>19</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 184.

<sup>20</sup> CB, p. 22.

<sup>21</sup> *Rotuli Hundredorum*, I, 112.

<sup>22</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 184.

<sup>23</sup> C. Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England* (1969), p. 83.

villeins to the abbey.<sup>24</sup> Their total number cannot be calculated as such grants are often expressed in such terms as 'all the men I have in that vill (Cliviger) and all their families and chattels'.<sup>25</sup> It is clear, however, that they must have formed an important part of the abbey's labour force. The only reference to a servant is to the unfortunate serving-boy whose ear Peter, the granger of Barnoldswick, cut off for stealing two loaves of bread.<sup>26</sup>

### *Exploitation of Land*

Two factors may have influenced the location of grants of land. One was clearly the particular interests and loyalties of the grantors. So Kirkstall never received grants beyond the river Wharfe in the Harewood area where the Meschin family had a special interest in Bolton Priory. The other reason was perhaps the availability of waste. All the land granted to the abbey in the de Lacy and Paynel fees was in vills shown as waste in Domesday or, in a very few cases, where the value was very much reduced. There was, of course, much waste land in the Leeds area, but in Leeds itself, which was not waste, no grants were received until a much later date.

To the lay-brothers would have fallen the responsibility for making productive these gifts of land, much of it waste, which began to come to the community as soon as it reached Kirkstall. They were almost certainly helped by peasant labour. Reclamation from waste had, however, begun before the monks received their grants. Endowments are often described as 'cultures' or 'assarts', suggesting recent cultivation.<sup>27</sup> The *Coucher Book* gives the impression that clearance had been particularly vigorous at Horsforth where all the charters which relate to grants of land use such descriptions.

Places ending in '-thwaite', usually meaning a clearing, are rare in Domesday, but become increasingly common from about 1150 onwards.<sup>28</sup> Micklethwaite, which does not appear in Domesday, was one of Kirkstall's earliest and most important acquisitions.

<sup>24</sup> *CB*, *passim*. Grants of villeins only are grouped together, pp.205-09.

<sup>25</sup> *CB*, p.195. This must date from before 1200 as Cliviger was given up by Abbot Lambert, c. 1193 (*Fundacio*, p.184).

<sup>26</sup> *Rotuli Hundredorum*, I, 112.

<sup>27</sup> E.g., *CB*, pp.67, 73. Such examples could be multiplied.

<sup>28</sup> H. Lindkvist, *Middle English Place-names of Scandinavian Origin* (Uppsala, 1912), p.99

Evidence of clearing by the monks themselves is provided by fines exacted by the king for encroachment on the royal forest. Between 1169 and 1170 they paid £7 10s.,<sup>29</sup> in 1177–78, 3s. 6d.,<sup>30</sup> and in 1184–85 again £7 10s., which was, however, pardoned by the king.<sup>31</sup> Clearance of land was going on well into the thirteenth century at least when, at a date perhaps between 1220 and 1250, William de Allerton gave the monks permission ‘to assart nine acres of land in Mikelker’.<sup>32</sup> The monks sometimes marked the boundaries of their land by digging ditches or by the erection of a stone cross.<sup>33</sup>

The monks were not only interested in their land for the crops it would produce. There is evidence from their earliest history that they were occupied in the working of metals. The grant of a forge and land at Ardsley is recorded in a charter of Henry II witnessed by Thomas the Chancellor, which must therefore date from before 1163.<sup>34</sup> Land and mineral rights were granted in Seacroft by William de Somerville on condition that the monks should provide his men with iron for their ploughs and also fill up the pits left by their workings.<sup>35</sup> In later years at least there were smithies at Weetwood and Hesylwell, which were included in the demesne lands at the Dissolution,<sup>36</sup> though they had recently been leased with permission to take sufficient wood to make charcoal.<sup>37</sup> Minerals beneath the lordship of Horsforth were also worked at the time of the surrender of the house, but not by the monks themselves.<sup>38</sup> What those minerals were is not specified.<sup>39</sup>

Much of the abbey’s land was, of course, arable and there are references to plough oxen at Roundhay grange and Bramley, to twenty-four oxen at Aldfield, and to oxen ‘ploughing the said land’ at Armley.<sup>40</sup> There are frequent references in the charters to pasture for a

<sup>29</sup> *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the 16th Year of King Henry II*, Pipe Roll Society, XV (1892), p. 41.

<sup>30</sup> *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the 24th Year of King Henry II*, ed. J. H. Round, Pipe Roll Society, XXIV (1906), p. 70.

<sup>31</sup> *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the 31st Year of King Henry II*, ed. J. H. Round, Pipe Roll Society, XXXIV (1913), p. 74.

<sup>32</sup> CB, p. 82.

<sup>33</sup> CB, pp. 107, 66.

<sup>34</sup> Dugdale, MA, V, 536.

<sup>35</sup> Dodsworth, VIII, f. 58. See also CB, p. 127.

<sup>36</sup> Account 1539–40.

<sup>37</sup> PRO, MS lease 378. E303/23, Yorkshire.

<sup>38</sup> Account 1539–40.

<sup>39</sup> Excavations on the abbey site appeared to have revealed an iron-smelting furnace within the cloister precincts, T. A. Hume and D. E. Owen, *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations*, 5th Report (*PTh.S.*, XLVIII, 1955), 77–80. This is now, however, known to have been a smith’s hearth and not a bloomery, R. A. Mott, ‘Kirkstall Forge and Monkish Iron-making’, *PTh.S.*, LIII (1972), 155, n. 4.

<sup>40</sup> CB, pp. 53, 63, 181, 64.

certain number of animals, but it cannot be established that the specified number of animals was actually kept on the land. There were, however, probably large herds at Rushton where Robert de Lacy gave 'pasture for 160 horses with their fodder for two years and 200 cows with their fodder for three years'.<sup>41</sup> Armley had pasture for cows and goats, Riddlesden for cows, Horsforth, Potternewton and Osmondthorp for pigs, Aldfield and Burley for goats, Roundhay for cows, pigs and deer-calves,<sup>42</sup> while Bessacar had pasture for forty horses and for 'cows and pigs without number'.<sup>43</sup> There were poultry at Rushton.<sup>44</sup>

Pasture for large flocks of sheep was granted, though it would be rash to assert that the number of sheep specified was actually kept. It may have been a way of describing roughly the size of the grant. The largest such grant, and one of the earliest, was at Bessacar, for 1,000 sheep;<sup>45</sup> for 700 at Seacroft,<sup>46</sup> for 300 at Bramhope, Potternewton and Cookridge,<sup>47</sup> for 240 at Beeston<sup>48</sup> and for flocks of 200 at Riddlesden, Austhorpe, Clifford and Snydale respectively,<sup>49</sup> with smaller flocks at many other places. Only at Barnoldswick, Rushton and Accrington is pasture for sheep not mentioned. If the number of sheep for which pasture had been granted by about 1220 is added together the total is 4,680, but while this may be an unreliable guide to the size of the abbey's flocks at that date, the figure is not an unlikely one.<sup>50</sup>

### *Sheep-farming and the Production of Wool*

Professor Knowles considered that it was towards the end of the twelfth century that the Cistercians established themselves as the leading producers of wool.<sup>51</sup> Sheep-farming was certainly well established at Kirkstall by about that date. There is a reference to the monks' sheep-fold at Bessacar in a charter of the son of the original grantor of the pasture there,<sup>52</sup> to the monks' 200 sheep in

<sup>41</sup> CB, p. 53.

<sup>42</sup> CB, pp. 64, 181, 71, 109, 132, 181, 61, 53.

<sup>43</sup> EYC, II, 156.

<sup>44</sup> CB, p. 53.

<sup>45</sup> EYC, II, 156.

<sup>46</sup> CB, p. 121.

<sup>47</sup> CB, p. 96.

<sup>48</sup> CB, p. 245.

<sup>49</sup> CB, pp. 184, 116, 138, 150.

<sup>50</sup> See below, p. 40.

<sup>51</sup> Knowles, *MO*, p. 352.

<sup>52</sup> CB, p. 158.

their sheep-fold at Wyke and to 400 at Bardsey in a document dated 1209.<sup>53</sup> Sheep-folds also existed at Cookridge, Allerton, Austhorpe, Seacroft and Newhall. Land suitable for making a sheep-fold was granted at Pudsey.<sup>54</sup> All these references may be dated to the later twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. These folds were probably light, temporary structures, 'the walls resembling brushwood hedges placed around growing meadows'.<sup>55</sup>

Information on farming practice is scanty. When pasture rights were granted near the abbey's grange at Aldfield the monks were allowed to keep the lambs with the sheep 'until they are weaned; then all the lambs shall be removed except forty which shall remain there for the whole year in addition to the said number of 200 sheep'.<sup>56</sup> In a charter of William de Somerville which may be dated not later than 1193 the donor requires that 400 of the monks' 700 sheep shall be folded on his own land.<sup>57</sup> This is perhaps because of the value of the sheeps' manure.<sup>58</sup> The monks were given permission to remove their sheep if they feared murrain among them.

The only clue to the kind of sheep kept on the Kirkstall pastures comes from a much later date. In the mid-fifteenth century the Cistercians were allowed to eat meat and a meat kitchen was built at the abbey. An analysis of the animal remains found when the meat-kitchen was excavated showed the existence of two kinds of sheep: horned, the short-woolled sheep, and hornless, the long-woolled or valley sheep,<sup>59</sup> but it would clearly not be safe to conclude that these two kinds of sheep were kept on the abbey's pastures in the thirteenth century.

The names are known of some of the wool-merchants with whom the abbey had dealings. The financial statement for the year 1284 refers to the company of James de Pistokis<sup>60</sup> and there is reference in a document in the *Coucher Book* to relations with the Betti of Lucca.<sup>61</sup> The merchants of Pistoia were among the

<sup>53</sup> CB, p. 111.

<sup>54</sup> CB, pp. 96, 104, 116, 124, 244; 'Charters, Allerton', p. 45.

<sup>55</sup> R. A. Donkin, 'Bercaria and Lanaria', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XXIX (1956-58), 449.

<sup>56</sup> CB, pp. 184-85.

<sup>57</sup> CB, p. 121.

<sup>58</sup> Knowles, RO, I, 71, where Knowles has estimated that the sheep's manure might be worth one-third of the price raised for the wool-clip.

<sup>59</sup> M. L. Ryder, 'The Animal Remains found at Kirkstall', *Agricultural History Review*, VII (1959), Pt 1, 1-5.

<sup>60</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 189.

<sup>61</sup> CB, pp. 225-27.

companies used by the papacy at this period as depositaries,<sup>62</sup> and the Betti can be identified from the Hull customs roll of 1275.<sup>63</sup> N. Denholm-Young has found the abbey also in debt to the merchants of Florence in 1278.<sup>64</sup> If wool was sold to Florentine merchants it must have been shipped by merchants of another city or nation as Florentine ships did not begin to appear in English waters until the fifteenth century.<sup>65</sup>

The *Coucher Book* document which refers to the Betti provides almost the only information we have about the working of the wool trade at Kirkstall. The abbey had agreed in 1292 to sell all its wool for ten years to these merchants at 15 marks a sack for the good wool, 9½ marks for the medium quality and 8 marks for 'lock', or poor quality wool. The merchants paid to the abbey an advance of 160 marks which would be allowed to them out of their instalments at 20 marks per year for the last eight years of the contract. This money had been assigned to the King in part payment of a debt to him by the Betti and the King now sued Kirkstall for the money. The agreement had apparently brought the merchants into financial difficulties and they had been unable to keep their part of the contract, but the court upheld the abbey and the merchants' money was forfeit. The practice of forward selling, so often condemned by the general chapter,<sup>66</sup> is seen clearly here and also the Cistercians' practice of sorting the wool into three grades. There would appear to be another reference to forward selling in the financial statement of 1284<sup>67</sup> where five sacks of wool are shown as owing to Bernard Talde, about whom nothing more is known.

The only other information comes from the well-known list of English monastic houses included in *La Pratica della Mercatura* by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti,<sup>68</sup> a Florentine who represented the great banking firm of Bardi and who was in England during the years 1317–21. It has been subjected to a number of different interpretations.<sup>69</sup> Not even the precise date is certain. It can,

<sup>62</sup> W. E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues of the Middle Ages*, I (New York, 1934), p. 304.

<sup>63</sup> N. S. B. Gras, *The Early English Customs System* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1918), pp. 225, 233–35, 237, 243.

<sup>64</sup> N. Denholm-Young, *Seigniorial Administration in England* (Oxford, 1937), p. 61.

<sup>65</sup> A. Ruddock, 'Italian Trading Fleets in Medieval England', *History*, n.s., XXIX (1944), 197.

<sup>66</sup> Denholm-Young, p. 55.

<sup>67</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 189.

<sup>68</sup> F. Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge [Mass.], 1936).

<sup>69</sup> Denholm-Young, pp. 53–54. Knowles, *RO*, I, 70–71; Pegolotti, p. xxix.

however, be said that about 1320 Kirkstall was producing at least twenty-five sacks of wool per year. This compares with seventy-six at Fountains, sixty at Rievaulx and twenty-five at Meaux.

The number of sheep had risen from none in the account of 1284 to 4,500 at the visitation of 1301.<sup>70</sup> A production of twenty-five sacks per year would represent a further increase, but by exactly how much it is difficult to say. If each sack contained 300 fells, then Kirkstall had at least 7,500 sheep,<sup>71</sup> but on the basis of figures which Knowles took from Grosseteste and other sources<sup>72</sup> the corresponding figure would be 5,500.

### *The Economy in 1288*

An extent of the abbey's lands, dated 3 April 1288, provides valuable evidence of the agrarian economy of the house at that date.<sup>73</sup> Certain lands are, however, excluded<sup>74</sup> and, as the summary of Kirkstall's assets in 1284 shows no sheep at all,<sup>75</sup> the balance of arable to pastoral farming may be an exceptional one.

In 1287, when the earl of Lincoln began to help the house out of severe financial difficulties, the king charged him 'if perchance the abbot and convent . . . require that their lands and tenements be valued as to their yearly income from all sources . . . then if the creditors themselves agree you shall cause it to be carried into effect'.<sup>76</sup> If this was the occasion of the survey it would clearly be in the monks' interests to secure as low a valuation as possible, and this could be achieved by exaggerating the amount of land under the plough at the expense of that used for pasture.

Some of the places listed, and perhaps all, are granges. Bar Grange and Moor Grange are included, La Dene is probably Dean Grange; early granges are known at Burley, Allerton, Brearey, Cookridge and Elam, and all these are included. The extent shows wide variations in the size of the granges – 48 acres at Elam, 307 at Bar Grange and 444 at Compton, if this is Micklethwaite grange. It also shows wide variations in land values. Pasture was worth 1s. 8d. an acre at Cookridge and 4s. at Clifford; arable was worth

<sup>70</sup> *Fundacio*, p.203.

<sup>71</sup> Denholm-Young, p.57.

<sup>72</sup> Knowles, *RO*, I, 71.

<sup>73</sup> *PRO*, E142/86/1.

<sup>74</sup> Barnoldswick, York, Rushton and lands near Doncaster.

<sup>75</sup> *Fundacio*, p.189.

<sup>76</sup> *Fundacio*, p.193.

4d. at Allerton and Moor Grange (Headingley) and 8d. at Elam and Compton.

### *Changes in Agrarian Practice*

The Cistercians had originally rejected 'income of rent or toll from land, mills or any form of imposition, nor were they to receive any rents or services from dwellers on the land'.<sup>77</sup> Much of Kirkstall's holdings, however, could never have been exploited directly by the abbey. By 1200 it was receiving grants of whole vills<sup>78</sup> and unless wholesale eviction took place, of which there is no evidence at this date, the abbey must have received rent from the time that it accepted the endowment. That this could have been money-rent is shown from evidence from the bishop of Durham's estates that a monastic house was receiving money-rents as early as about 1183.<sup>79</sup> The 1288 extent shows an annual income from rents and farms of £74, while the value of land in demesne was £92.

Knowles suggested 1300 onwards as the approximate date when English Cistercians were 'gradually going over from direct exploitation of their lands to a system of rents and leases'.<sup>80</sup> The only firm conclusion to be drawn from a study of the available Kirkstall evidence is that, although in 1288 Kirkstall was dependent on rents for a considerable part of its income, it is between 1288 and 1459 that large-scale leasing developed. In 1288 Barnoldswick is the only grange known for certain to have been leased, and special circumstances may have operated in this case.<sup>81</sup> By 1459 Aldfield, Dean Grange (Horsforth), Elam, Moor Grange, Snydale and Wether Grange (Bramley) were certainly leased and rents were being collected in Allerton, Brearey, Bessacar, Burley, Darrington, Loscoe and Rushton, at all of which places there had once been granges.<sup>82</sup>

Detailed evidence for the progress of leasing is not available. Only thirteen documents are known which give such evidence and all of these deal with small or even very small amounts of land. The earliest is from the years 1182-92,<sup>83</sup> but eight of the thirteen belong

<sup>77</sup> Knowles, *MO*, p. 349.

<sup>78</sup> E.g., Cookridge, *EYC*, VI, 251, perhaps as early as 1174.

<sup>79</sup> M. M. Postan, 'The Chronology of Labour Services', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, XX (1937), 177.

<sup>80</sup> Knowles, *RO*, II, 126.

<sup>81</sup> *CB*, p. 330 and n.4.

<sup>82</sup> The 1459 evidence is taken from 'A Rent-Roll of Kirkstall Abbey', pp. 1-21.

<sup>83</sup> *EYC*, III, 202, which relates to the grant of a house in Pontefract to Renier of Pontefract.

to the period of Abbots Maurice and Adam (c.1235–50), no doubt following the relaxation by the general chapters of 1208 and 1224 of earlier restrictions on leasing and on the acceptance of income from rents.<sup>84</sup> The others date from the period 1325–35 and follow a relaxation of restrictions on leasing by a central authority.<sup>85</sup>

The advantage of leasing and no doubt one of the reasons for it can be seen in a comparison of figures from the 1288 and 1459 documents:

	1288	1459
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Allerton	12 16 10½	24 9 0
Brearey	11 8 9	19 3 0
Burley	4 2 8	13 7 2
Dean Grange (Le Dene)	3 11 8	7 13 4

The total value of the land recorded in 1288 was £207 9s. 11d.; the total from rents alone in 1459 was £354 7s. 3½d.<sup>86</sup>

Some granges were leased to individuals,<sup>87</sup> in some cases to two or three men,<sup>88</sup> while some were split into a number of separate tenements.<sup>89</sup> Practice appears to bear no relation to the size of the grange.

If one reason for leasing granges was to increase their value, another was clearly the difficulty in recruiting adequate and suitable labour within the traditional system. It was during the first half of the fourteenth century that the institution of lay-brothers virtually disappeared. The gradual emancipation of the villein class, the growing prosperity of the small leaseholder and peasant, the rise in the value of the labourer's hire, the withdrawal increasingly by the choir-monks from manual occupations<sup>90</sup> made suitable recruitment more difficult at a time when responsibilities were increasing. J. T. Donnelly has noted the frequency in the thirteenth century of disturbances among the lay-brothers in widely scattered houses.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>84</sup>J. T. Donnelly, 'Changes in the Grange Economy of English and Welsh Cistercian Abbeys, 1300–1540', *Traditio*, X (1954), 420–23.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*, p.420.

<sup>86</sup>The comparison is not an exact one as the lands included in the two documents are not precisely the same.

<sup>87</sup>E.g., Dean Grange and Moor Grange.

<sup>88</sup>E.g., Wether Grange and Snydale.

<sup>89</sup>E.g., Bar Grange, Allerton, Brearey, etc.

<sup>90</sup>Knowles, *RO*, I, 77; II, 125.

<sup>91</sup>J. T. Donnelly, *The Decline of the English Cistercian Lay-brotherhood*, Fordham University Studies, History Series, No.3 (1949), Appendix.

The Black Death must have taken its toll and in 1381 there were at Kirkstall only sixteen monks and six lay-brothers.<sup>92</sup>

### *Financial Difficulties*

For nearly a century from 1276 onwards the abbey faced serious financial difficulties and surmounted a number of major crises. In 1276 the sheep farmers of England began to be seriously affected by the incidence of murrain or scab among their sheep. This disease was caused possibly by frequent very wet periods. By 1284 Kirkstall had no sheep.<sup>93</sup>

Financial difficulties were not new to the community. In spite of Henry de Lacy's help at the time of the removal to Kirkstall the abbey was in debt to Aaron of Lincoln on his death in 1186, a debt which was remitted by Richard I for a consideration of 1,000 marks.<sup>94</sup> The king had granted his protection to the house in 1261, 1265 and 1268,<sup>95</sup> and in 1276 the house, 'which is in debt', was granted royal protection for five years and committed to the custody of its patron, the earl of Lincoln, 'until further orders'.<sup>96</sup> The abbey was again in debt to the Jews<sup>97</sup> and had been unable to meet its obligations to the 'lord Cardinal Jordan'.<sup>98</sup> When this last debt had not been met by the agreed date the general chapter of 1280 ordered the abbot, Gilbert de Cotles, to resign.<sup>99</sup> In 1281 Kirkstall applied to the general chapter for permission to disperse.<sup>100</sup>

A summary of the state of the house at the appointment of the new abbot, Hugh Grimston, in 1284, is given in the *Fundacio*, as follows:

Draught oxen 16, cows 83, yearling and young bullocks 16, asses 21, sheep none.

<sup>92</sup> *VCH, Yorkshire*, III, 144; c.f., six lay-brothers at Jervaulx, three at Rievaulx, one at Roche, *ibid.*, pp.144, 151, 154.

<sup>93</sup> *Fundacio*, p.189.

<sup>94</sup> *Mem. Fountains*, SS, LXVII (1878), 18, n.4.

<sup>95</sup> *CPR*, 1258–66, pp.153, 455; 1266–72, p.256.

<sup>96</sup> *CPR*, 1272–81, p.170.

<sup>97</sup> *Calendar of Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, ed. H. Jenkinson (1929), p.262.

<sup>98</sup> Canivez, III, 203. The *Fundacio* also refers (p.189) to difficulties 'respecting Simon' having been brought to an end. A certain (perhaps a papal) collector appears in connection with English houses in a number of decisions of the general chapter at this time, e.g., Canivez, III, 33, 39, etc.

<sup>99</sup> Canivez, III, 203.

<sup>100</sup> Canivez, III, 212.

debts owed without question by the acknowledgements made before the barons of the exchequer	£4402 21s. 7d. [sic]
Scrip in the hands of the company of James of Pistokis	500 marks
Scrip 'de Judaismo' in the hands of the abbot of Fountains	500 marks
5 sacks of wool and 9 marks owed to Bernard Talde	
Quittance in the hands of John Saylbes	340 marks
The sum of all the debts is	£5248 15s. 7d.

The new abbot acted vigorously to deal with these difficulties.<sup>101</sup> In 1287 he sought out the king in Gascony and, with the help of the patron, laid his difficulties before him. The king protected his own interests by ordering that the abbey should not be distrained upon to such an extent that it would be unable to pay him his annual farm of £90 for Bardsey and Collingham, but refused the complete protection it asked for and entrusted the earl of Lincoln with taking the steps necessary to save the house. The abbot agreed to surrender land and rents in Accrington, Cliviger and Huncoat in Lancashire and Roundhay, Seacroft and Shadwell in Yorkshire, together with the £4 which the house had been receiving annually from the exchequer at Pontefract – a total annual income of £41 7s. 9d. in exchange for £53 5s. 8d. annually from the earl. To meet the abbey's immediate needs the earl would loan them £350 to pay their most pressing debts – to the Cardinal and to the Jew, Coik of London – which they would repay by not receiving any of the 80 marks annual payment until 1298; that is, 550 marks deferred to repay a loan of the equivalent of 525 marks.

The effectiveness of these measures can perhaps be judged to some extent by the state of the house at the visitation of the abbot of Fountains in 1301:

Draught oxen 216, cows 160, yearlings and young bullocks 152, calves 90, sheep with lambs 4,500.	
Debts	£160. <sup>102</sup>

This clearly represents a quite remarkable recovery in less than twenty years, especially when seen beside the quite unprecedented demands which Edward I made upon the Church in the last decade of the thirteenth century.<sup>103</sup> Kirkstall was one of the houses which

<sup>101</sup> This account is taken from the *Fundacio*, pp.189–203.

<sup>102</sup> *Fundacio*, pp.203–04.

<sup>103</sup> See F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1953), pp.469–509, and H. S. Deighton, 'Clerical Taxation by Consent', *EHR*, LXVII (1953), 161–92.

met promptly the king's astonishing demand in 1294 for a half of their goods and benefices and were in return granted royal protection for one year.<sup>104</sup> It seems likely that Kirkstall also paid the grant of one-third or one-fifth in July 1297.<sup>105</sup>

Royal demands continued into the next century, though on a less extravagant scale. Edward II demanded victuals for his Scottish campaign and acknowledged his indebtedness to the extent of £16 10s.<sup>106</sup> The monasteries were required to 'sell' wool to the Crown and sometimes to wait a very long time for payment, and also to make cash loans.

Financial aid was demanded against the Scots in 1334<sup>107</sup> and for the wars against the French.<sup>108</sup> The northern monasteries also bore the burden of Scottish raids and levies to repel them.

It was on monasteries thus weakened by years of financial strain that a new disaster fell. It has been estimated that at least 115 heads of religious houses died as a result of the Black Death and that the disease entered perhaps double that number of monasteries.<sup>109</sup> The full impact was felt in Yorkshire in the summer of 1349. On 12 August of that year at Meaux the abbot and five monks died in a single day and out of fifty monks and lay-brothers only about ten are said to have survived.<sup>110</sup> Comparable figures for Kirkstall are not known, but it is perhaps significant that four abbots occur between 1348 and 1355.

On the basis of the information provided by the Kirkstall documents one is led to the conclusion that only in its very early years did the economic organisation of the house conform at all closely to the ideals of the founders of the order. It has been found that within half a century of its foundation granges were being left in the charge of lay-brothers, income from prohibited sources such as tithes and rents was being accepted, and only a little later from an advowson (c.1222). Soon afterwards the changeover from direct cultivation to an economy of rents and leases began, and by 1288 a considerable part of the abbey's holdings was rented. From this date onwards granges gradually passed into lay tenancy and the

<sup>104</sup> *CPR*, 1292-1301, p.90.

<sup>105</sup> Kirkstall was not among those from whom fines were received for non-payment. *CPR*, 1292-1301; Deighton, p.182.

<sup>106</sup> *CCR*, 1307-13, p.261.

<sup>107</sup> *CCR*, 1337-38, p.358.

<sup>108</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, p.431.

<sup>109</sup> Figures from P. G. Mode, *The Influence of the Black Death on English Monasteries* (Chicago, 1918), p.18.

<sup>110</sup> P. Ziegler, *The Black Death* (1969), p.183.

once distinctive institution of lay-brothers virtually disappeared. It must be said, however, that these changes took place to a considerable extent because of economic changes in the outside world over which the monks had no control.

## *The Internal Life of the Monastery*

It is when one tries to discuss the internal life of the monastery that the gaps in the sources are most serious. Of the whole system of visitation, which was such an important feature of Cistercian organization and one which might have been expected to provide valuable information, only one small fragment remains: a summary of the condition of the house when visited by Abbot Thornton of Fountains in 1301.<sup>1</sup> The contacts which must have come about through abbatial elections are represented only by the celebrated election at Fountains which caused the long dispute of 1410–16 at which the abbot of Kirkstall was present as assessor.<sup>2</sup> No accounts such as those of the bursar at Fountains<sup>3</sup> are known to survive. It is thus only possible to gain occasional glimpses of the life of the house.

### *The Monastic Community*

Two firm statements of numbers are known. When the community left Fountains to found the new house at Barnoldswick it consisted of Abbot Alexander, twelve monks and ten lay-brothers.<sup>4</sup> In 1381 there were sixteen monks and six lay-brothers.<sup>5</sup> A considerable increase in numbers, especially of lay-brothers, would be expected during the second half of the twelfth century, but no evidence of this survives unless it is seen in the change in the position of the refectory, possibly to accommodate a larger number of monks.<sup>6</sup> At the Dissolution there were nineteen.<sup>7</sup>

What is probably a complete list of abbots can be compiled (Appendix, p.95), and it is possible to say a little about their origins. It is not surprising that, in the early appointments, the influence of Fountains was strong. Alexander, the first abbot, had been prior of Fountains. Ralph Haget, the second abbot, was a son

<sup>1</sup>*Fundacio*, pp.203–04.

<sup>2</sup>E. F. Jacob, 'The Disputed Election at Fountains Abbey, 1410–16', in *Medieval Studies presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Ruffer and A. J. Taylor (Oxford, 1950), pp.78–97.

<sup>3</sup>*Mem. Fountains*, SS, XLII (1863).

<sup>4</sup>*Fundacio*, p.174.

<sup>5</sup>*VCH, Yorkshire*, III, 144.

<sup>6</sup>Hope and Bilson, pp.51–53.

<sup>7</sup>See below, pp.88 *et seq.*

of Bertram Haget, founder of Healaugh Park and a benefactor of Fountains. He had been a knight before he became a monk of Fountains during the abbacy of Robert (1170–79)<sup>8</sup> and became abbot of Fountains after leaving Kirkstall about 1191.<sup>9</sup> Lambert was one of the original twelve sent out from Fountains<sup>10</sup> and Turgisius had presumably been a monk of Fountains for the writer of the *Fundacio* to speak of his ‘returning to Fountains’ after his nine years as abbot of Kirkstall.<sup>11</sup> Helias, the fifth abbot, had been a monk of Roche, but the Fountains influence was maintained with the appointment, about 1209, of Ralph of Newcastle, formerly a monk of that house and a close associate of abbot Ralph Haget.<sup>12</sup>

A number of abbots were members of local families. Hugh de Grimston and John de Bridesale,<sup>13</sup> who had both been monks of Kirkstall before becoming abbot, were almost certainly connected with local families of some importance and linked by marriage.<sup>14</sup> The de Bridesale, or Birdsall, family had been lords of the manor of Clifford at least since 1166 and were benefactors of the abbey.<sup>15</sup> John de Bridesale accompanied Hugh de Grimston on his journey to Edward I in Gascony in 1287.<sup>16</sup> During Hugh’s abbacy, in 1294, a Thomas de Bridesale was instituted to the living of Bracewell on the presentation of the abbot and convent<sup>17</sup> and in 1313, during John’s abbacy, a William de Bridesale granted land in Bramley to the abbey, having obtained leave to alienate in mortmain.<sup>18</sup> It is probable that Robert Killingbeck, who was abbot between 1499 and 1501, was connected with a local family, first tenants of the abbey and after the Dissolution owners of some of its land.<sup>19</sup> William de Stapleton (c.1414–15) also bears the name of a local family. William Marshall, the last abbot but one, in whose period the tower was raised, was the brother of Christopher Marshall of the Potter Newton family of that name.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>8</sup>C. T. Clay, ‘The Early Abbots of Yorkshire Cistercian Houses’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XXXVII (1952), 19, n.5.

<sup>9</sup>*Fundacio*, p.183.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup>*Fundacio*, p.186.

<sup>12</sup>*Mem. Fountains*, SS, XLII, 123.

<sup>13</sup>CB, p.27; *Fundacio*, p.189.

<sup>14</sup>CB, pp.137–38.

<sup>15</sup>CB, p.138.

<sup>16</sup>*Fundacio*, p.189.

<sup>17</sup>*Reg. Romeyn*, I.

<sup>18</sup>CPR, 1307–13, p.592.

<sup>19</sup>For a list of references to the Killingbeck family, see W. Levison, ‘A Manuscript of Geoffrey Monmouth and Henry Huntingdon’, *EHR*, LVIII (1943), 49, n.3.

<sup>20</sup>‘Testamenta Leodiensia’ [1496–1624], ed. W. Brigg, *PTh.S.*, IV (1893), 146.

Only in a few cases can anything be said of the personality of any of the abbots. Ralph Haget is described as 'a man of piety and noteworthy for all holiness'.<sup>21</sup> Two incidents from his life are recounted by Professor Knowles and described as 'worthy of a place in the record of English spirituality'.<sup>22</sup> He seems, however, to have been inexperienced in administration and his period of office was one of considerable difficulty. Henry II seized the grange of Mickletonwaite and the abbey was so impoverished that it even dispersed for a time.<sup>23</sup>

Lambert had been forty years a monk before his election as abbot.<sup>24</sup> He had to face the loss of Cliviger and the violent attack on the grange at Accrington which the abbey had received in exchange.<sup>25</sup> His successor, Turgisius, was a man of very ascetic habits who, it is said, could never celebrate mass without tears 'and so great was the flood of them that he seemed less to weep them than to pour them down like rain'.<sup>26</sup> Abbot Helias began his abbacy in an unfortunate way for Robert de Lacy 'albeit patron of the monastery, being ill-advised by certain men, conceived so great a dislike to the said abbot that he did not deign even to set eyes on the man, or to allow him into his presence'.<sup>27</sup> Afterwards the two men became close friends and together secured the return of the grange of Mickletonwaite from King John.<sup>28</sup>

There are several examples of serious indiscipline in the history of the house. Adam, the grangarius, and Walter, keeper of the ploughs, lay-brothers at the grange of Mickletonwaite, were charged with the murder of Adam, the forester of Clifford.<sup>29</sup> The date of this incident is unknown.

The record of the general chapter for the year 1280 refers to 'the rebellion of the monks of Kirkstall against their father of Fountains . . . and the conspiracy which has grown up among them'.<sup>30</sup> The discontent may have been connected with the deposition in that year by the general chapter of Abbot Gilbert de Cotles for failing to pay certain money due to Cardinal

<sup>21</sup> *Fundacio*, p.181.

<sup>22</sup> Knowles, *MO*, pp.357-58.

<sup>23</sup> *Fundacio*, pp.182-83.

<sup>24</sup> *Fundacio*, p.184.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Fundacio*, p.186.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Fundacio*, p.187.

<sup>29</sup> *CB*, p.22.

<sup>30</sup> Canivez, III, 200.

Jordan, 'a special friend of the order',<sup>31</sup> or it may have had its roots in the serious economic difficulties the house was facing at this time.<sup>32</sup>

At least one abbot was involved, with some of his monks, in acts of serious indiscipline. In 1356 Abbot John, probably John Topcliffe, seems to have organised some of the members of his community – five monks and a lay-brother – and four laymen into a gang to terrorize the neighbourhood. Thomas Sergaunt's house at Thorpe, near Knaresborough, was besieged, Thomas was imprisoned at Wetherby, his house and property damaged and goods stolen.<sup>33</sup> In 1366, either in the same abbot's time, or in that of his successor, John de Thornberg, the vicar of Sandal, the archbishop's official, was attacked by the abbot, a lay-brother and two widows and the vicar's servant was killed. The purpose of the attack was to prevent the citation of Margaret, widow of Robert de Baghill, 'notoriously defamed of many grave delinquencies' to appear before the archbishop.<sup>34</sup> There were complaints by St Leonard's Hospital, York, of attacks by Abbot John and a party of about twelve laymen on their property and servants in several parts of Yorkshire,<sup>35</sup> and by John of Gaunt<sup>36</sup> of damage to his property at Tickhill, Pontefract and Knaresborough. Even when allowance has been made for the vigour with which such charges were pressed in medieval times, the spiritual discipline of the house, which in 1381 numbered only twenty-three, must at this time have been at a very low level.

A second example of the deposition of an abbot by the general chapter occurred in 1432 or 1433 when the resignation of Abbot John de Colyngnam was required by visitors appointed by the general chapter and including the abbot of Clairvaux.<sup>37</sup>

Of the recruitment of monks little can be said. If their names are any guide they came from such places as Leeds,<sup>38</sup> Otley,<sup>39</sup> Bracewell<sup>40</sup> and York.<sup>41</sup> Sons of benefactors were sometimes received into the community.<sup>42</sup> The examination of monks, including

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 185, 203.

<sup>32</sup> See above, pp. 43–44.

<sup>33</sup> *CPR*, 1354–59, p. 498.

<sup>34</sup> *CPR*, 1364–67, p. 362; 1370–74, p. 158.

<sup>35</sup> *CPR*, 1377–81, p. 95. St Leonard's held land adjoining that of Kirkstall at Bramhope. Relations between the two houses were never good. See below, pp. 75–76.

<sup>36</sup> *CPR*, 1377–81, p. 357.

<sup>37</sup> Canivez, IV, 388.

<sup>38</sup> *CB*, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> *CPR*, 1354–58, p. 498.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Reg. Giffard*, I, 97.

<sup>42</sup> *CB*, p. 95.

the future abbot, Hugh Grimston, probably before their ordination as priests, is seen in the register of Archbishop Giffard in 1274.<sup>43</sup>

Of the details of the organization and administration of the monastery, records are again scarce. The obedientary system was by no means as highly developed among the white monks as among the black, and there are references in the records of Kirkstall only to prior and cellarer.<sup>44</sup>

The chapter, which in the first generation of the Cistercians had been primarily 'an assembly for spiritual conference'<sup>45</sup> was, at Kirkstall, in comparatively early times consulted on questions involving payments of money and transfers of land. The tithe agreement with Holy Trinity, York, about land within the parish of Leeds was drawn up 'with the consent of both chapters'<sup>46</sup> and a charter of Abbot Ralph, of about 1182–90,<sup>47</sup> granting a messuage in Pontefract is witnessed 'by the whole community'. By the middle of the next century the endowments of the abbot would seem to have become separate from those of the community, for in 1252 Abbot Adam, before the whole chapter as witnesses, granted rents to his prior and convent.<sup>48</sup>

The abbot had had his own rooms in the monastery for some years before this. The architectural evidence would place the building of the abbot's lodgings at about 1230, much earlier than any similar buildings in other Cistercian houses.<sup>49</sup> The abbot's room is referred to in a document dated 1336 when Miles de la Haye did homage to the abbot of Fountains for land in Hunslet 'in the abbot of Kirkstall's private room'.<sup>50</sup>

Other pointers to a less strict observance of the rule emerge from the architectural evidence. The aisles of the infirmary hall would seem to have been converted for use as private rooms during the fourteenth century.<sup>51</sup> The hearths of two of them are still very clearly visible. In the fifteenth century alterations were made to the refectory to make possible the construction of a misericord and meat kitchen. The old refectory was divided into two stories, the upper of which was used as a refectory and the ground floor as the misericord.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Reg. Giffard*.

<sup>44</sup> *CB*, p.4.

<sup>45</sup> Knowles, *MO*, p.637.

<sup>46</sup> Bodleian Library, MS Charters, Yorkshire, No.4.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, No.5.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, No.9.

<sup>49</sup> Hope and Bilson.

<sup>50</sup> *CB*, p.4.

<sup>51</sup> Hope and Bilson, p.41.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p.48.

There is an interesting reference to the services of the monastery in a letter which Abbot John de Bridesale sent from Dover while on a journey to the continent partly on the king's business, but also perhaps on his way to the general chapter.<sup>53</sup> He asks that Richard Ekerlays should prepare to preach on Christmas Day, 'unless we return before that time, so that that great festival may not pass without a sermon, which has never happened, nor by the grace of God shall ever occur in the future'.<sup>54</sup> Henry de Lacy made grants from his farm of Clitheroe of one mark towards the abbot's vestments<sup>55</sup> and of half a mark for a light to burn before the altar.<sup>56</sup> The community was in possession of a gold chalice by the time of the second abbot, when it was given to Henry II in an attempt to recover the grange of Micklethwaite.<sup>57</sup>

Unlike the black monks it was not usual for the white monks, at least in their early years, to vary their diet on feast days, but at the institution of Michael de Torrenton to Bracewell, about 1229, one mark was reserved to the abbot for a pittance every feast day of the Purification.<sup>58</sup>

The world outside the monastery intruded in a number of ways. From 1305 to about 1440 there were always one or two, but not more, persons appointed by the king to corrodies within the abbey.<sup>59</sup> They were usually men who had retired from minor positions in the royal household. The corrodians of Kirkstall were always men, but women were sent to the abbey's dependent priory at Burstall.<sup>60</sup> Two old men would not seem to be a heavy burden on a house, but there might also have been corrodians appointed by the founder's family or by benefactors.<sup>61</sup> Between 1352 and 1362 the abbot petitioned the king<sup>62</sup> that his house should not be so burdened, but this request may have been part of the campaign carried on, almost, it seems, as a matter of course, by many monasteries to avoid having to receive corrodians.<sup>63</sup> It may,

<sup>53</sup> This could have been in 1312, when the abbot was granted royal protection, perhaps to attend the general chapter, see below, p. 77.

<sup>54</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 207.

<sup>55</sup> *CB*, p. 54.

<sup>56</sup> *CB*, p. 55.

<sup>57</sup> *Fundacio*, p. 183.

<sup>58</sup> *Reg. Gray*, p. 33.

<sup>59</sup> On royal corrodies, see S. Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 90–92, 107–11.

<sup>60</sup> *CPR*, 1441–46, p. 446.

<sup>61</sup> E.g., at Vaudey, *VCH, Lincolnshire*, II, ed. W. Page (1906), p. 143.

<sup>62</sup> *CB*, pp. 289–90.

<sup>63</sup> Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons*, p. 109.

however, reflect the economic difficulties of the house following the Black Death and the king's financial demands in connection with the French wars.<sup>64</sup> Whatever the reason, the petition met with no success.

Other less innocent people might also be found within the monastery walls. In 1426 the sheriff of York sent instructions to Walter de Calverley and others to attach certain men 'dwelling with the abbot of Kirkstall to find sufficient surety at the next sessions for keeping the peace against the king and John William of Spofforth'.<sup>65</sup>

In 1314 Archbishop Greenfield recalled to his own court from consideration by the archdeacon a charge that the abbey was admitting parishioners of the parish of Leeds to sacraments in the chapel above the gatehouse, and others to burial within the abbey grounds.<sup>66</sup> The conclusion does not appear. It was not unusual for the abbey to allow benefactors to be buried within the monastery bounds, but whether in the church or in the grounds is not clear.<sup>67</sup>

Under a provision by Abbot Robert of Fountains in 1401, as father abbot of Kirkstall, women were to be allowed into the church of Kirkstall, but were on no account to be allowed to visit other parts of the monastery, even if they were invited by the abbot. This concession applied only to certain days, not specified.<sup>68</sup>

### *Intellectual Activities*

Kirkstall produced no scholars of the stature of Ailred of Rievaulx or the chronicler Ralph of Coggeshall. Hugh, one of the early members of the community wrote, in 1205–06, an account of the origins of Fountains<sup>69</sup> and was probably also the author of the first part of the *Fundacio Abbathie de Kyrkestall* to which numerous references have already been made. Hugh was professed by Abbot Ralph Haget in c.1183–84 and claimed to have obtained his

<sup>64</sup> See above, p.45.

<sup>65</sup> *Calverley Charters*, p.241.

<sup>66</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, II, 177.

<sup>67</sup> *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 14, William of Guiseley buried at Kirkstall; *CB*, p.193, Henry of Elland; *Dugdale, MA*, V, 532, Robert de Lacy.

<sup>68</sup> British Library, Cart. Cott. MSS, IV, 39, printed in *Mem. Fountains*, SS, XLII (1863), 205–06.

<sup>69</sup> Printed in full in *Mem. Fountains*, SS, XLII (1863), 1–128.

information on the early years of Fountains from Serlo, who had been one of the group of monks who migrated from St Mary's, York, to found the abbey of Fountains. He had also been one of the original group of twelve, who with Abbot Alexander had set out in 1147 to found at Barnoldswick the house which was to become Kirkstall Abbey. In an analysis of the Fountains narrative L. G. D. Baker considerably reduces Hugh's original contribution and shows parallels with similar writings which suggest that Hugh was writing in accordance with an accepted tradition rather than writing an objective history of the abbey.<sup>70</sup>

The document now known as the *Fundacio* is clearly a composite document only the first part of which, ending at about 1210, is in narrative form. This may also be the work of Hugh, but this is not certain. It is the most important source for the early history of the abbey.

A later section of the *Fundacio* includes a long letter by Abbot Hugh de Grimston written to the community in 1287 from Gascony when he had gone to seek the help of Edward I in the serious financial difficulties which the abbey was facing at this time. Much detail of the arrangements is given, and letters from the king to his treasurer, the bishop of Ely and to the barons of the Exchequer are included.

The two chronicles which bear the name of the house cannot with absolute certainty be assigned to it.<sup>71</sup> The 'Long Chronicle',<sup>72</sup> written about 1370-76, is in the same handwriting as the manuscript of the *Fundacio*. It deals entirely with events outside the house and reflects little credit upon the scholarship of the house at the time when it was written. 'The manuscript is the work of a scribe who could not read what he was copying or who did not understand fully what was said.'<sup>73</sup>

The 'Short Chronicle',<sup>74</sup> completed about 1400, is ascribed to Kirkstall on the basis of a note by Dodsworth on his transcription of part of it. It shows a sympathy with Richard II which is surprising in a house with such strong Lancastrian connections.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>70</sup> L. G. D. Baker, 'The Foundation of Fountains Abbey', *Northern History*, IV (1969), 29-43.

<sup>71</sup> *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, ed. J. Taylor (*PTh.S.*, XLII, 1952), with a preface which describes the literary remains of the house.

<sup>72</sup> Bodleian Library, Laud MSS, Miscellaneous 722.

<sup>73</sup> M. V. Clarke and N. Denholm-Young, 'The Kirkstall Chronicle, 1355-1400', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XV (1931), 100-37.

<sup>74</sup> Dodsworth, CXL, but formerly part of the Laud volume.

<sup>75</sup> *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, p.46.

A number of original charters have survived<sup>76</sup> and also the *Coucher Book*. The compilation of the latter appears to have begun in the early thirteenth century. The documents were grouped by areas beginning with those relating to Kirkstall and Headingley and moving out towards the more distant estates. After the first compilation other documents were added and placed as closely as possible to those relating to the same area, even if this sometimes meant placing them at the end of the section before. To the front of the collection was added a series of fines inserted in date order and running from 1192 to 1246, and after the charters a series of compositions as to tithe made between Kirkstall and the rectors of the parishes in which the abbey held land. Finally there is a series of inquisitions and court proceedings in which the abbey had been involved.

One of what must have been a series of rent-rolls survived and has been printed.<sup>77</sup> The original cannot now be traced.

The library of the abbey was housed in the small book-room next to the chapter-house on the east side of the cloister, with a press in the cloister itself.

Of its contents little can be said. Only eight manuscripts are known to survive. The manuscripts of which details are available<sup>78</sup> are mainly collections of short works on spiritual topics. A volume which begins with 'A tract concerning the spiritual eye' is in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge,<sup>79</sup> and an entry on the first folio shows it to have been the gift of John Driffield, a monk of the house, on Ascension Day, 1344.<sup>80</sup> In the library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge,<sup>81</sup> is a fourteenth-century volume beginning with a collection of the sayings of Augustine and Aristotle. It also includes other short works by Augustine and the book of the deeds of Barlaam and Josaphat from a Greek sermon by John the Damascene, 'a holy and learned man'. This book was the gift of John Stamborn, also a

<sup>76</sup> The most important manuscript collections are the Watson collection, Bodleian Library, MS Top., Yorkshire, e.2; Bodleian Library, MS Charters, Yorkshire, a.1, of which nos. 1-27 relate to Kirkstall; the Allerton charters in the possession of the city of Leeds and printed in *PTh.S.*, IV (1895); British Library, Add. MSS 17121 relating to the abbey's holdings in Horsforth, and 27413 relating to Bramhope.

<sup>77</sup> *PTh.S.*, II (1891), 1.

<sup>78</sup> *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, pp. 37-40.

<sup>79</sup> Cambridge, Jesus College, 75 (M. R. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts* . . . (1895)).

<sup>80</sup> William de Driffield was abbot at this time. See Appendix, p. 95 below.

<sup>81</sup> Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 85 (M. R. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts* . . . (1895)).

monk of the house, but it had been the property of Simon de Gowshill, a canon of the Gilbertine house of Chicksand in Bedfordshire.

There are several Kirkstall volumes in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The 'Vocabularium ordine alphabetico of Huguccio of Pisa'<sup>82</sup> has a note on the fly-leaf which clearly associates it with Kirkstall Abbey. Laud misc. 216, of the twelfth century, includes an exposition by Bede of the Proverbs of Solomon and a collection of sentences from the early Christian fathers. In another twelfth-century volume<sup>83</sup> Smaragdus 'compiled a small book concerning various virtues' and gave it the name 'Diadema monachorum'. There is also a volume from the fifteenth century<sup>84</sup> which includes a Life of St Germanus.

There is a twelfth-century manuscript volume in the library of the University of Liège which includes a work by Eutropius.<sup>85</sup> The abbey library also appears to have contained a copy of the Chronicles of Geoffrey of Hoyland.<sup>86</sup>

There is a printed book by P. Crinitus, dated Paris 1508, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.<sup>87</sup> It was the gift of Christopher de Hedlyngley, but it is not known whether he was a member of the community.

It has been suggested that a manuscript now at St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, near Durham, and containing the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth and part of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* may also have been in the Kirkstall library, but the evidence is inconclusive.<sup>88</sup> Among the books of Henry Savile of Banke was a volume containing a miscellaneous collection of theological works and inscribed 'ex dono Thomas Foxcroft de Christall'.<sup>89</sup> Savile is known to have acquired books from the northern abbeys, especially from Fountains, Byland and Rievaulx,<sup>90</sup> and much of the

<sup>82</sup> Bodleian Library, Laud MSS, Miscellaneous 722.

<sup>83</sup> Bodleian Library, Mus. 195.

<sup>84</sup> Bodleian Library, Laud MSS, Lat. 69, noted in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn (1964), p.107.

<sup>85</sup> Liège, University Library, 369C, also noted in Ker, *Medieval Libraries*.

<sup>86</sup> C. R. Cheney, 'Les Bibliothèques Cisterciennes en Angleterre au XIIe Siècle', in *Mélanges S. Bernard*, XXIV Congrès de l'Association Bourguignonne des Sociétés Savantes (Dijon, 1953).

<sup>87</sup> Ker, pp.107, 272.

<sup>88</sup> W. Levison, 'A Manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Henry of Huntingdon', pp.49-50.

<sup>89</sup> J. P. Gilson, 'The Library of Henry Savile of Banke', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, IX (1906-08), 176.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p.137.

abbey land passed into the hands of Robert Savile after the Dissolution.<sup>91</sup>

In 1400 Kirkstall was ordered to pay 40s. each year, until the work was complete, towards the cost of rebuilding Rewley Abbey, the Cistercian studium at Oxford until St Bernard's College was founded in 1437.<sup>92</sup> One Kirkstall monk is known at Oxford. In 1433 the general chapter decided that Willelmus Gason, priest, of Kirkstall, had worked so well and brought such credit to his house and his order that he must remain to take his doctorate in Theology. The abbot was forbidden to remove him on pain of excommunication.<sup>93</sup>

### *The Abbey Buildings*

The architecture of the church and the conventual buildings was studied very fully by two specialists, St John Hope and John Bilson, and a detailed account was published in 1907.<sup>94</sup> It will not, therefore, be necessary here to cover the ground again. An attempt will be made, however, to place the buildings in the context of other early Cistercian buildings, to draw attention to their distinctive features, and to refer to relevant contributions to their study which have appeared since the work of Hope and Bilson was published.<sup>95</sup>

The ruins of Kirkstall Abbey are among the most extensive and best preserved of the English Cistercian houses. They mark a clear stage in the development of Cistercian architecture away from its Burgundian, or possibly northern French, exemplars; they show an important development towards Gothic building in the way the aisles and presbytery are vaulted, and they mark a stage in the gradual abandonment of the strictest injunctions of the order against decorative features.<sup>96</sup>

The main structure of the monastery was built during the period of the first abbot, 1152–85.<sup>97</sup> The buildings were erected more quickly than was sometimes the case with Cistercian houses,<sup>98</sup>

<sup>91</sup> See below, p.92.

<sup>92</sup> R. C. Fowler, 'Cistercian Scholars at Oxford', *EHR*, XXIII (1908), 84.

<sup>93</sup> Canivez, IV, 386–87. I have been unable to trace this man further.

<sup>94</sup> Hope and Bilson.

<sup>95</sup> The reports on the excavations of 1950–64 include detailed investigations of parts of the buildings, *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1950–54; 1955–59* (*PTh.S.*, XLVIII, 1961); 1960–64.

<sup>96</sup> T. S. R. Boase, *English Art, 1100–1216* (Oxford, 1953), pp.135–37.

<sup>97</sup> *Fundacio*, p.181.

<sup>98</sup> M. Aubert, *L'architecture Cistercienne de France* (Paris, 1947), I, 101.

possibly due to the support given by Henry de Lacy.<sup>99</sup> The stone, a sandstone known as Bramley Fall stone, was brought from quarries across the river and landed at a wooden jetty of which remains were found by the excavators,<sup>100</sup> together with many large blocks of stone which may have fallen during unloading. The stone is coarse-grained and extremely hard, which accounts for the bluntness in the rendering of the finer details in the sculpture, especially noticeable in the capitals. We are told, however, that Abbot Alexander diligently guarded the abbey's own woodlands and brought the timber for building from elsewhere.<sup>101</sup>

The earliest Cistercian churches in England, those at Waverley and Tintern, are generally agreed to owe their plan to St Bernard's church at Clairvaux. They have a short nave and a square-ended presbytery, in contrast to the multi-apsidal east ends common in the later churches. They are both without aisles and have transepts with two or three chapels on their eastern wall. At Rievaulx, founded in 1132, the nave was considerably lengthened and aisles and a western narthex added. Anglo-Norman features can first be seen at Fountains (begun 1135). The pointed arches, transverse barrel vault and arcaded narthex remained, but the crossing was marked by a low tower, cylindrical piers replaced the Burgundian square piers of Rievaulx, and Anglo-Norman decorative motifs were introduced.

It is to be expected that, given the close architectural uniformity of Cistercian houses and the proximity and importance of its mother-house, Kirkstall would be strongly influenced by the buildings at Fountains. It does, however, have its own important and distinctive features which possibly mark the development of church architecture during the fifteen years which separate the erection of the two churches.

In spite of the presence of pointed arches all the churches so far mentioned place 'more reliance in thickness of wall than in projection of buttresses'<sup>102</sup> and therefore cannot be described as Gothic buildings. It was for Roche (c.1170) and Byland (c.1175) to introduce distinctive Gothic features. Kirkstall, however, took an important step towards Gothic practice in its use of semi-circular diagonal ribs with pointed and stilted transverse ribs in the vaulting of the aisles and of the presbytery. This marks an advance both on the use of the transverse barrel vault in the aisles at Fountains and

<sup>99</sup> *Fundacio*, pp.179–80.

<sup>100</sup> *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations*, 1955–59, p.57.

<sup>101</sup> *Fundacio*, pp.179–80.

<sup>102</sup> F. Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England* (1905), p.43.

on the use of segmental diagonal ribs in most Anglo-Norman buildings. A similar development was taking place in the Ile de France, but it is the view of both Bilson and Bony<sup>103</sup> that Kirkstall's practice owes nothing to French influence. The Kirkstall vaults have been described as 'the very earliest examples in England of the complete solution of the Gothic problem as far as the vaulting itself is concerned'.<sup>104</sup>

The building of the church at Kirkstall coincided with the birth of 'a vigorous new school of sculpture . . . in Yorkshire'.<sup>105</sup> This may have had the effect of helping to break down the early Cistercian opposition to decoration and of producing a much freer use of ornament at Kirkstall than had been usual in Cistercian churches before that date.<sup>106</sup> Kirkstall has composite piers made up of as many as twelve engaged columns; its capitals show a wide range of scallop patterns with occasional interlacing designs and include a revival of Anglo-Norman motifs.<sup>107</sup> Foliage capitals can be seen in the north transept; chevron designs are found in the west and north doorways and the latter has an unusual 'Greek-key' pattern. It should be noted, however, that all the Kirkstall sculpture is purely decorative and that nowhere are figures or animals represented as in much contemporary work elsewhere in Yorkshire. Not even the popular 'beak-head' motif appears at Kirkstall.<sup>108</sup>

One of the most impressive buildings remaining, apart from the church, is the chapter-house, and this also is distinctive. 'In the Cistercian houses of the north a different type of rectangular chapter-house was developed having vaulting piers dividing it into three circles and preceded by a shallow vestibule one bay deep over which a passage led from the dormitory to the night stairs in the transept.'<sup>109</sup> This was true of Fountains, Furness and Jervaulx, but not of Kirkstall. Here the vestibule is of equal size with the chapter-house proper and passes under the whole width of the dormitory above, while the vaulting in the chapter-house spans the whole room.

<sup>103</sup> Hope and Bilson, p.239; J. Bony, 'French Influence on the Origins of English Gothic Architecture', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XII (1949), 3.

<sup>104</sup> Hope and Bilson, p.236.

<sup>105</sup> G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture, 1140-1210* (1953), p.34.

<sup>106</sup> A number of writers have drawn attention to this. Hope and Bilson, p.127; G. Webb, *Architecture in Britain: the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1956), p.47; Boase, p.36.

<sup>107</sup> Webb, p.47.

<sup>108</sup> Zarnecki, p.37.

<sup>109</sup> Webb, p.60.

The early Cistercian houses built their refectories, in accordance with traditional Benedictine practice, on the south side of the cloister and parallel to it. Fountains, Furness, Melrose and Newminster are examples. In the late twelfth century<sup>110</sup> the refectory at Kirkstall was altered so that its long axis was perpendicular to the south cloister. This occurred in a number of houses and is perhaps related to the rapid numerical expansion of the order during this period. A refectory in the north-south position could be extended to the limits of available ground. The rebuilt refectory was almost as large as that of the largest northern houses. A second alteration to the refectory took place when, following the relaxation by Benedict XII in 1335 of rules about eating meat, the refectory was divided into two stories to provide a misericord on the ground floor.<sup>111</sup> At the same time a new meat kitchen was built to the south-east.<sup>112</sup>

The constitution of the Cistercian order required that the abbot should 'lie in the dorter' and 'eat in the guest-house'. Kirkstall was one of the earliest houses to provide separate accommodation for its abbot, perhaps in 1230. It was a three-storied building, the ground floor perhaps serving as servants' quarters, with the principal room on the first floor approached by a stone staircase. Another relaxation of the strict rule of the order can be seen in the division of the infirmary into private chambers, possibly soon after 1300. The fire-places can still be seen in the aisles.<sup>113</sup>

The last century of the life of the English Cistercian monasteries saw considerable building activity. Whalley built a great new gate-house in 1480. Under its last abbot a new abbot's house was built and the lady chapel reconstructed. The tower at Fountains was built under Abbot Huby (1494-1526). Furness also began a large tower but never finished it. Cleeve built a new frater and, most magnificent of all, Forde, from about 1520 onwards, built its great new abbot's house and gatehouse. If Kirkstall could not equal this magnificence it at least had its share in the wave of new building. During the fifteenth century considerable alterations were carried out to the church. The roof was lowered, the gables remodelled and the great east window of the presbytery inserted as well as new windows in the nave and transepts. Under Abbot William Marshall (1509-27) the tower was raised in height to accommodate a belfry.

<sup>110</sup> The date was confirmed by the excavators, *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations*, 1955-59, pp. xi, 9.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 9.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30; and for the adjoining buildings, *ibid.*, pp. 31-34, 60-62, 79-82.

<sup>113</sup> For the excavations in the infirmary area, see *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations*, 1955-59, pp. 113-24; 1960-64, pp. 33-36.

## *External Relations*

It was part of the whole purpose and *raison d'être* of the Cistercian order that the life of its communities should be lived apart from the world. Its houses were built remote from the habitations of men, and its statutes, drawn up at a time when the Church's reaction against lay control was at its height, were intended to provide for self-sufficient communities whose dependence on the outside world was reduced to an absolute minimum, ideally only dependence on the bishop for orders. It will be the purpose of this chapter to discover in what ways a Cistercian house, and Kirkstall in particular, was nevertheless brought into contact with the world outside its walls and, where possible, to establish what were the effects of those contacts upon the life of the community.

### *Relations with the King*

While the great houses of the Benedictine order held their lands by military service or were tenants-in-chief of the king, the Cistercian houses almost invariably held land in frankalmoin<sup>1</sup> and were thus spared a great deal of the involvement in secular affairs which military tenure brought with it. Furthermore, in contrast to the Benedictines, or the Austin Canons, the king was involved in the foundation of few Cistercian houses.<sup>2</sup> In Cistercian houses he was therefore not in a position to exercise such rights as custody during vacancy or assent in abbatial elections. An unscrupulous king could and did seize Cistercian property and make heavy financial demands on Cistercian houses. Even in more normal times hospitality for royal servants might be demanded but the king might also provide protection and encouragement in times of difficulty.

The monks of Kirkstall first learned how heavy the king's hand might be in the reign of Henry II. Shortly after the monks had established themselves at Kirkstall they had been granted land at Bardsey and Collingham by Herbert de Moreville, who held land there of Roger de Mowbray. On this land the monks had established their grange of Micklethwaite which quickly became a

<sup>1</sup>For details of the implications of frankalmoin tenure, see above, pp.23–24.

<sup>2</sup>Two only: Beaulieu was founded by John in 1204 and Henry III shared with Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, in the foundation of Netley in 1239.

valuable part of their endowment. After the revolt of 1173–74 the whole of the Bardsey and Collingham land was taken into the king's hands and the grange confiscated. The loss of Micklethwaite was a severe blow to the monks and even caused a temporary dispersion, though the writer of the *Fundacio* admits that this took place chiefly in order to persuade the king to restore the land.<sup>3</sup> In spite of this and of Abbot Ralph's offers of presents of a gold chalice and a text of the gospels, Henry II would not restore the land to the monks.

It is difficult to account for the king's determined antagonism towards the abbey in this matter. It was unusual for the king to seize lands granted to a religious house, and Henry II had specifically confirmed the grant and taken the house under his protection.<sup>4</sup> Roger de Mowbray had been implicated in the rebellion and possibly also Richard de Moreville. The editor of the *Coucher Book* suggests<sup>5</sup> that active sympathy with de Moreville on the part of the abbot might have provided the special reason for the king's displeasure. The writer of the *Fundacio* says that the king's action was taken in order to spite Roger de Mowbray.<sup>6</sup>

It was John who eventually restored the grange to the monks, through the efforts of Abbot Helias and Roger de Lacy.<sup>7</sup> John would only agree, however, on condition that the abbot took the whole Bardsey and Collingham fee at an annual rent of £90.<sup>8</sup> The abbey accepted these conditions, and the land remained with them until the Dissolution. The disposal of this rent caused more communications between the king and the monastery than any other subject except the statute of mortmain. The abbot was often instructed to pay it direct to someone named by the king and it was so used, for example, to support John's foundation of Beaulieu.<sup>9</sup>

John is remembered, however, more for his demands on the Cistercians than for his grants to them.<sup>10</sup> From the exactions of 1210 it has been said<sup>11</sup> that only two foundations – Beaulieu and Margam – escaped, so it is likely that Kirkstall suffered. The writer

<sup>3</sup>*Fundacio*, p.183.

<sup>4</sup>Herbert de Moreville's grant is included by name in Henry II's charter of confirmation, *CB*, p.214. For Henry's grant of protection, see *CB*, p.215.

<sup>5</sup>*CB*, p.218.

<sup>6</sup>*Fundacio*, p.182.

<sup>7</sup>*Fundacio*, pp.184–85.

<sup>8</sup>*CB*, pp.218–19.

<sup>9</sup>*CCR*, 1227–31, p.73.

<sup>10</sup>John's relations with the Cistercians are described in detail in Knowles, *MO*, pp.366–70.

<sup>11</sup>Knowles, *MO*, p.368.

of the *Fundacio* blames John for the loss of the grange at Hooton Pagnell,<sup>12</sup> but the *Coucher Book* includes the fine by which Abbot Helias relinquished all interest in Hooton Pagnell in return for recognition of the abbey's rights in Adel.<sup>13</sup> It was nearly a century before Kirkstall again suffered severely from royal demands.<sup>14</sup>

There were, however, other and less onerous ways in which the king might require money or services of the abbey. In 1304, after the surrender of Stirling Castle, Kirkstall was ordered to provide four horses, a cart and two men to help carry Edward I's treasure from York back to Westminster; in 1310 Kirkstall, with other houses, was ordered to provide victuals for Edward II's Scottish campaign. Once again, in 1349, transport was needed to help move the chancery rolls in Westminster and a suitable horse was found at Kirkstall. In 1332 Edward III asked for a subsidy to help defray the cost of his sister Eleanor's marriage to Reginald, count of Flanders-Geulders,<sup>15</sup> and in 1430 Henry VI demanded £10 towards the repayment of a loan by the city of London.<sup>16</sup>

The king also expected monasteries to provide lodging for retired royal servants. There were always one or two, but never more than two, royal corrodians at Kirkstall from 1305 to about 1433.<sup>17</sup> They were, it seems, usually men who had occupied minor positions in the royal household.

The third way in which the king was brought into contact with the abbey was through actions in the courts or through the departments of state. The most numerous came about as a consequence of the passing of the statute of mortmain. Between 1306 and 1410 twenty-eight licences to alienate into mortmain are known to have been issued to Kirkstall, concerning altogether sixty-five different pieces of land, rent or, in one case, the appropriation of the church of Bracewell.<sup>18</sup>

Three examples are recorded of the grant of pardon by the king in cases in which the abbot or the convent was concerned. In 1371 the king pardoned Stephen, a lay-brother, for having killed the vicar of Sandal's servant and wounded the vicar himself. The incident referred to is presumably that in 1366 in which Abbot John Topcliffe was implicated.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Fundacio*, p.187.

<sup>13</sup> *CB*, pp.9-10.

<sup>14</sup> See above, pp.44-45.

<sup>15</sup> *CCR*, 1302-07, p.224; 1307-13, p.261; 1349-54, pp.34, 54; 1330-33, p.587.

<sup>16</sup> *CPR*, 1429-36, p.62.

<sup>17</sup> For the abbot's protest, see *CB*, p.289.

<sup>18</sup> *CPR*, *passim*. For reference to the church at Bracewell, see *CPR*, 1345-48, p.431.

<sup>19</sup> *CPR*, 1370-74, p.158; 1364-67, pp.362-63.

The other two cases involve men who were opposed to the abbot. In 1391 the king pardoned Thomas de Rothelay for failing to answer a charge of trespass and in 1393 three men were pardoned who had released from the stocks one, John Bull, who had stolen from the abbot twenty-nine sheep valued at 28s.<sup>20</sup>

Two long disputes between the king and the abbey occupy many pages in the *Coucher Book* and are also described in detail in the Patent Rolls.<sup>21</sup> The king was brought into the first of these by his resumption of the Blackburnshire lands after the attainder of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, in 1322, to whom they had passed after the extinction of the male line of the de Lacy family in 1310.<sup>22</sup> Part of these lands had been granted by Edward III to Queen Isabella shortly after his accession.

The story begins with a petition from the abbot and convent to the king to point out that Blackburnshire had been granted to the abbey in frankalmoin, free of all earthly services, and requesting that they should therefore be exempt from claims for puture on these lands. The king ordered his own chief forester, Robert de Dalton, and Queen Isabella's steward, John Giffard, to cease demanding puture of the abbey. John Giffard replied that puture had been received since the time of John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln (who died in 1240). Giffard was again ordered to stop his demands and this time the instructions were passed to the keeper of the queen's lands<sup>23</sup> and presumably obeyed.

The second dispute lasted much longer and was not settled out of court. It arose through the addition by the earl of Lincoln of 840 acres of wood, moor and pasture to his forest of Blackburnshire just before 1300.<sup>24</sup> This forest came into the king's hands with the rest of the earl of Lancaster's possessions in 1322 and in 1329 the abbot, William of Driffild, petitioned for restoration of common rights on this land.<sup>25</sup> His petition was opposed by the representatives of the king and Queen Isabella. The land lay half in Lancashire and half in Yorkshire. Proceedings in respect of the Lancashire land were quashed, but it was not until 1335 that the sheriff was ordered to give the abbot seisin of the land in Yorkshire.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> CPR, 1389-92, p.284; 1392-96, p.263.

<sup>21</sup> CB, pp.353-64, 321-39; CPR, 1327-30, p.528; 1330-34, pp.56, 70; 1338-40, pp.534-38.

<sup>22</sup> The descent is shown in the diagram in G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, VII, 677.

<sup>23</sup> CB, p.354, undated. CB, pp.363, 355, 356, 357, 359.

<sup>24</sup> CB, p.326.

<sup>25</sup> CB, p.331.

<sup>26</sup> CB, pp.338-39.

Relations with the king did not always operate against the abbey's interests, as much of this chapter might suggest. Each king, from Henry II to Edward I, took Kirkstall under his protection,<sup>27</sup> and this general protection might be renewed for a specific period if the house were in particular difficulties. In 1276, for example, royal protection was granted for five years to Kirkstall Abbey 'which is in debt'.<sup>28</sup> A custodian was also appointed, as was commonly done, even with exempt houses, in the case of debt.<sup>29</sup> In this case the king seems particularly to have considered the susceptibilities of the house by appointing as custodian the abbey's own patron, Henry de Lacy.

Letters of protection were granted to the abbot when he went abroad to attend meetings of the general chapter of his order<sup>30</sup> and in 1323 to the abbot 'in his grange of Loftesclogh'.<sup>31</sup> The reason is not known.

The king might also use his influence to encourage the abbey's trade. Both Henry II and Richard I granted exemption from various tolls 'for themselves, their animals and their goods'<sup>32</sup> and in 1224 Henry III ordered all his harbour-bailiffs to see that ships carrying wool from Kirkstall and Fountains were not interfered with, or allowed to suffer injury.<sup>33</sup>

It is clear from the relationships described above that the connection between the king and a Cistercian house were of a very different kind from those which existed between the king and a black monk abbey. Whereas the king's relations with the Benedictine houses were based on feudal law and custom and were therefore of a formal kind, the king could only interfere in the affairs of a Cistercian house by acting irregularly, as it seems did Henry II and John in their dealings with Kirkstall, or by pressing his vaguely defined claim to a kind of general patronage. The intrusion of royal corrodians into Cistercian houses may be regarded as an extension of this claim. The opportunities for friction were thus much less and the resulting situation shows that the Cistercians had to some extent achieved

<sup>27</sup>Henry II, *CB*, p.215; Richard I, *CB*, p.216; John, as Count of Mortain, *CB*, p.218, as king, *CB*, p.220; Henry III, *Dugdale, MA*, V, 536.

<sup>28</sup>*CPR*, 1272-81, p.170.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p.171; see also, S. Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1955), p.96.

<sup>30</sup>E.g., *CPR*, 1292-1301, p.515; 1327-30, p.1.

<sup>31</sup>Presumably Loscoe, near Pontefract, *CPR*, 1321-24, p.345.

<sup>32</sup>*CB*, p.216.

<sup>33</sup>*CPR*, 1216-25, p.449.

their aim of excluding lay influence from the conduct of their affairs.

### *Relations with the Patron*

The patron of an English monastery was normally the founder or his heir and the endowment of a monastery was regarded very much as the enfeoffment of a tenant. The chief right which the patron enjoyed was the right of taking the house into his custody during a vacancy and of licence and assent in elections. In the Cistercian order custody during a vacancy was ruled out and the constitution of the order expressly forbade lay interference in abbatial elections.<sup>34</sup>

As exemplified in the surviving documents relating to Kirkstall Abbey the patron's particular role was in the smoothing of relations with the outside world in temporal matters. H. M. Colvin's description of the patron of a Premonstratensian house will serve well to describe the kind of relationship which emerges: 'A patron, in the eyes of the Church, was a person chosen by a monastic house to protect its interests in the secular sphere and generally to use his influence to promote its welfare and safeguard its endowments.'<sup>35</sup>

Patronage of Kirkstall Abbey remained in the de Lacy family from the founder, Henry de Lacy, at least until the male line disappeared with the death of Henry de Lacy in 1310, and passed into the hands of the dukes of Lancaster, who succeeded to the de Lacy estates. Henry de Lacy's part in the foundation of the house has already been told.<sup>36</sup> He was not a great donor of land, but he probably persuaded others to give, he helped to smooth out the difficulties which arose between the house and Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, by securing the intervention of the king. He also helped in other ways. 'Henry de Lacy stood by [Abbot Alexander], now providing the fruits of harvest, now supplying money as the needs of the establishment required. He had in part provided the buildings, laid with his own hand the foundations of the church and himself completed the whole fabric at his own cost.'<sup>37</sup>

On Henry's death this valuable relationship was continued through Robert, his son. He gave land much more generously than his father had done. Fountains and Selby received grants from him and Kirkstall was granted Riston in Bowland, with generous

<sup>34</sup> P. Guignard, *Monuments primitifs de la règle Cistercienne* (Dijon, 1878), p.82.

<sup>35</sup> H. M. Colvin, *The White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951), p.291.

<sup>36</sup> See above, pp.4, 7-11.

<sup>37</sup> *Fundacio*, pp.179-80.

pasture rights,<sup>38</sup> all Accrington,<sup>39</sup> land in Snydale<sup>40</sup> and houses in Wentbridge and Pontefract.<sup>41</sup> Robert brought to justice the men who had attacked and killed three lay-brothers at the grange of Accrington during the time of Abbot Lambert.<sup>42</sup> With Robert's death the direct male line of the de Lacys came to an end. The estates passed to Aubrey, his cousin, who in 1194<sup>43</sup> granted the honour of Pontefract to her grandson, Roger, son of John, constable of Chester.

As was usual, when land changed hands, the patronage of any monasteries included in it passed with it, unless expressly excluded.<sup>44</sup> Roger, having overcome his personal dislike of Abbot Helias, helped the monastery to recover the grange of Micklethwaite, taken from them by Henry II.<sup>45</sup>

In 1276, when the house was heavily in debt, it was Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, whom the king appointed as its custodian until pressure of the king's business made it necessary for someone else to succeed him.<sup>46</sup> The financial details are given above.<sup>47</sup> It does not appear that Henry was ungenerous. The abbey surrendered land and rents to an annual value of £41 7s. 9d. in return for an annual sum from the exchequer at Pontefract of £53 6s. 8d., while to meet their immediate needs the earl loaned 525 marks for which 550 marks would eventually be repaid.

Relations between monastery and patron did not, however, always run smoothly. Shortly after this financial settlement the earl, for a reason that is not clear, took into his forest of Blackburnshire a large tract of the monastery's possessions, involving the abbey in a long and expensive law-suit with the king, for the de Lacy land passed into the king's hands with the attainder of the earl of Lancaster in 1322.<sup>48</sup> Possession of the whole was not regained until 1340 or later.

It would be expected that the patronage of Kirkstall would pass to the Lancaster family with the honour of Pontefract. The only evidence that this did in fact happen is contained in a petition to the

<sup>38</sup> *CB*, p. 199.

<sup>39</sup> *CB*, p. 196.

<sup>40</sup> *CB*, p. 146.

<sup>41</sup> *EYC*, III, 202.

<sup>42</sup> *Fundacio*, pp. 184–85.

<sup>43</sup> *G.E.C.*, *Complete Peerage*, v.s. Lincoln.

<sup>44</sup> *Wood*, pp. 12–25.

<sup>45</sup> See above, p. 62.

<sup>46</sup> *CPR*, 1272–81, p. 171.

<sup>47</sup> See above, pp. 43–44.

<sup>48</sup> The law-suit is described above, p. 64.

king in respect of corrodies, from a date between 1352 and 1362,<sup>49</sup> in which the abbey is described as ‘de la fundacion Henry de Lascy iadis Seignour de Pontfrait, et du patronage Henri, Duke [*sic*] de Lancastre’.<sup>50</sup> It was through the interest of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, that the abbey gained its largest accession of land. Following a disastrous fire the abbey of Aumale, near Amiens, sold its dependent priory of Burstall, in Holderness. Through negotiations conducted by John of Gaunt, the priory, with all its lands and churches, was acquired by Kirkstall for 10,000 pounds tours.<sup>51</sup>

It is reasonable to ask what return patrons gained for themselves for the services they performed for the monastery. The return expected would be mainly in the form of spiritual services – masses for the dead members of the patron’s family<sup>52</sup> or admission to confraternity.<sup>53</sup> There is no evidence that either of these things happened at Kirkstall, but application was made to the general chapter of 1258 that they might celebrate each year the anniversary of their founders.<sup>54</sup> Members of the founder’s family were often buried in the monastery. Of the de Lacy family, only Robert, who died in 1193, is known to have been buried at Kirkstall.<sup>55</sup> In many monasteries, including several Cistercian houses, an account was kept of events in the founder’s family, and this was sometimes incorporated in the cartulary. The Kirkstall *Coucher Book* contains an account of the constables of Chester.<sup>56</sup>

### *Relations with other Cistercian Houses*

It was laid down in the statutes of the Cistercian order that mother-houses should visit their daughters annually and that the abbot of every daughter-house should pay a return visit each year to the mother-house.<sup>57</sup> The ordinary life of the order would therefore bring houses into contact with each other quite often,

<sup>49</sup> *CB*, p.289.

<sup>50</sup> The document is unreliable in some respects; John’s grant of Micklethwaite is described as being in free alms. The grant, *CB*, pp.218–19, is clearly at fee-farm.

<sup>51</sup> D. Mathew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (1962), p.118. The pound tours was worth about one-quarter of the pound sterling.

<sup>52</sup> Wood, pp.131–35.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p.127.

<sup>54</sup> Canivez, II, 444.

<sup>55</sup> Dugdale, *MA*, V, 534. Other members of the family were buried at their later foundation of Stanlaw. *The Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey*, ed. W. A. Hutton, Chetham Society, X (1847), i, 189.

<sup>56</sup> *CB*, pp.237–43.

<sup>57</sup> Knowles, *MO*, p.262.

apart from the meeting of the abbots at the general chapter. One of the most valuable sources that students of Cistercian institutions could have would be the records of these visitations, but they are apparently not in existence either in England, or at Cîteaux.<sup>58</sup> As far as Kirkstall is concerned the evidence that these regulations were in fact carried out is very scanty. On only four occasions can it be shown clearly that the abbot of Fountains was present in his daughter-house, and only one of these was an ordinary visitation—that of Abbot Robert Thornton in 1301.<sup>59</sup> A similar visitation could well have been the occasion for the business that brings the other visits to our notice.

In 1284 Henry, abbot of Fountains, was present for the election of Abbot Hugh Grimston.<sup>60</sup> It would appear that an ordinary visitation was carried out on this occasion, as the condition of the house is recorded. A chance phrase in a document in the *Coucher Book*<sup>61</sup> shows that the abbot of Fountains was at Kirkstall in 1336 when he received 'in the abbot of Kirkstall's private room' the homage of Miles de la Haye for lands at Hunslet. The last known occasion was when Abbot John Ripon of Fountains visited Kirkstall in 1432 in the company of the visitors from the general chapter, the abbot of Clairvaux and the abbot of Theolocus, and received the resignation of Abbot John de Colyngam.<sup>62</sup>

The abbot of Kirkstall's return visit could of course have been made without leaving any record, since no formal visitation was involved. The abbots of the daughter-houses were required to be present at the election of a new abbot of the mother-house. The only such occasion when the abbot of Kirkstall is known to have been at Fountains is the disputed election of 1411.<sup>63</sup> Abbot Turgisius appears as witness to a grant of land to Fountains in about 1200, but this of course did not necessarily involve his presence there.<sup>64</sup>

That relations between the mother and daughter were not always as good as they should have been is indicated by the appointment by the general chapter of 1280 of the abbots of Rufford and

<sup>58</sup> J. Richard, 'Les Sources Bourguignonnes de l'histoire d'Angleterre: La custodie de Scarborough et la pêche en mer du Nord au XIII<sup>me</sup> siècle', *Moyen Age*, LII (1946), 257n.

<sup>59</sup> *Fundacio*, pp.203–04.

<sup>60</sup> *Fundacio*, pp.188–89.

<sup>61</sup> *CB*, p.4.

<sup>62</sup> Canivez, IV, 388.

<sup>63</sup> Jacob, 'The Disputed Election at Fountains', p.81.

<sup>64</sup> *EYC*, III, 340.

Rievaulx to enquire into a rebellion by the monks of Kirkstall against their father, the abbot of Fountains, and 'the conspiracy that has arisen among them'.<sup>65</sup>

The authority of the abbot of Fountains is illustrated by his confirmation in 1401 of indulgences granted to Kirkstall by the pope allowing the entry of women into the church on certain days, provided that they were not allowed, by the abbot or the monks, to visit other parts of the monastery.<sup>66</sup>

In July 1279 the abbots of Rievaulx and Byland met at Kirkstall to enquire into a dispute between Fountains and Salley about boundaries.<sup>67</sup> Abbot Alexander and his monk, Serlo, witnessed a grant to Rievaulx of iron smithies and ore-bearing land at Blacker, in Upper Hoyland.<sup>68</sup>

In 1228 the abbot was ordered by the king to pay to the royal foundation of Beaulieu the £90 fee-farm from Bardsey and Collingham.<sup>69</sup>

### *Relations with the Secular Church*

#### (a) With the Diocesan

The ecclesiastical independence of a Cistercian house was as secure as its financial independence. From almost the earliest times the order had been under the direct protection of the papacy.<sup>70</sup> The diocesan bishop had no part in the election of abbots nor did he enjoy the right of visitation.

The archbishop of York, as Kirkstall's diocesan, did, however, enjoy the abbey's hospitality on a number of occasions. On his first visitation of the diocese he was entitled to claim it. Such a visit was made after due notice had been given. Thomas Corbridge (archbishop 1300–04) gave notice of his intended visit on 31 May 1301 and arrived at the abbey on 20 June of the same year.<sup>71</sup> William Greenfield (1306–15) gave notice on 15 May 1307 and arrived on 3 June.<sup>72</sup> Henry Bowet (1407–23) spent Ascension Day 1408 at the abbey<sup>73</sup> and John Kempe was there on 26 March 1441.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Canivez, III, 200.

<sup>66</sup> *Mem. Fountains*, SS, XLII (1863), 205.

<sup>67</sup> Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains, ed. W. T. Lancaster, I (1915), p. 322.

<sup>68</sup> EYC, III, 363.

<sup>69</sup> CCR, 1227–31, p. 73.

<sup>70</sup> Knowles, MO, p. 209.

<sup>71</sup> *Reg. Corbridge*, p. 51.

<sup>72</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, II, xxii.

<sup>73</sup> *Reg. Bowet and Kempe*, p. 138.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.

Hospitality was also received, though not perhaps as a right, on other occasions. Archbishop Greenfield, for example, was at Kirkstall in November 1310<sup>75</sup> and again in October 1313.<sup>76</sup>

The archbishop retained the right to visit churches appropriated to the monastery. Archbishop Bowet visited Bracewell in 1409<sup>77</sup> and in the same year the East Riding churches which Kirkstall had acquired with Burstall.<sup>78</sup>

The institution of incumbents to appropriated churches was carried out by the diocesan. For example, Michael de Torenton was instituted to Bracewell by Archbishop Gray in 1229,<sup>79</sup> and Thomas de Bridesale to the same church by Archbishop Romeyn in 1296,<sup>80</sup> both on the presentation of the abbot and convent.

There are several examples in the archbishops' registers of professions of obedience by a newly-elected abbot. Abbot Hugh Grimston made his profession to Archbishop Romeyn in 1289,<sup>81</sup> apparently five years after he became abbot, John de Bridesale to Archbishop Corbridge in 1304<sup>82</sup> and Walter to Archbishop Greenfield in 1314.<sup>83</sup> In this last example the names of the monks who brought to the archbishop confirmation of the abbot's election are also given – Simon de Fymere and William de Leeds.

The monks might come before the archbishop for ordination as priests. In 1273 William of York, Hugh of Bilton, William of Hawton and Hugh Grimston, later abbot, were examined in Blyth parish church for this purpose.<sup>84</sup>

Misdemeanours occasionally brought the convent to the archbishop's notice. Corbridge excommunicated the monk Henry of Hoveden for leaving the monastery without permission.<sup>85</sup> In 1314 the abbot and convent were called to account before the archdeacon for admitting parishioners of Leeds to the small chapel on the first floor of the gate-house and for having allowed others to be buried in the monastery.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, 85.

<sup>76</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, V, 29.

<sup>77</sup> *Reg. Bowet and Kempe*, p. 157.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>79</sup> *Reg. Gray*, p. 33.

<sup>80</sup> *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 146.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>82</sup> *Reg. Corbridge*, p. 112.

<sup>83</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, II, 183.

<sup>84</sup> *Reg. Giffard*, p. 197.

<sup>85</sup> *Reg. Corbridge*, p. 111.

<sup>86</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, II, 177.

In 1308 the abbot and convent appeared before the archbishop at Bridlington on a charge that they had 'occupied and held the church of Gilkirk as if it were a parish church' by erecting a baptistery and permitting burials there. The church of Bracewell claimed that Gilkirk was a chapel.<sup>87</sup> The case was held over to be heard at Cawood and its conclusion does not appear.

(b) With Appropriated Churches

The founders of the Cistercian order had renounced explicitly any income from ecclesiastical sources, such as churches, altars or tithes,<sup>88</sup> but, though in the early days such gifts were occasionally refused, as early as about 1170 Alexander III felt it necessary to address a circular to Cistercian houses ordering them to observe their constitutions in this matter.<sup>89</sup>

It has already been shown how Kirkstall Abbey had come to possess, in its early days, the vill of Barnoldswick, and how the church at Barnoldswick had been destroyed.<sup>90</sup> In order to make some compensation to the villagers for the loss of their church Archbishop Murdac had ordered the chapels of Bracewell and Marton, which had been in the parish of Barnoldswick, to be raised to the status of parish churches.<sup>91</sup> As the archbishop died in October 1153 and the order refers to the monks of Kirkstall, not of Barnoldswick, the change can be dated, with reasonable certainty to the summer of 1153. In 1222, or soon after, Richard de Tempest granted the advowson of Bracewell to the abbey,<sup>92</sup> and the first record of the institution of an incumbent at the abbey's presentation, Michael de Torenton, occurs in 1229.<sup>93</sup>

Not all the abbey's candidates for presentation to Bracewell were in full orders. Thomas de Bridesale was instituted to the living as a sub-deacon in December 1294.<sup>94</sup> It would be interesting to know whether Thomas had any connection with John de Bridesale, who became abbot in 1304. Both Thomas de Bridesale and Henry de Berwick were granted by Archbishop Romeyn custody of sequestration of the parish while they were still acolytes.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, V, 208.

<sup>88</sup> Guignard, p.252.

<sup>89</sup> Knowles, *MO*, p.355.

<sup>90</sup> See above, p.5.

<sup>91</sup> *EYC*, III, 192.

<sup>92</sup> *EYC*, VII, 246.

<sup>93</sup> *Reg. Gray*, p.33.

<sup>94</sup> *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 141.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.141, 97.

Robert Risetton (or Rushton) was instituted to Bracewell on 8 October 1306 on the presentation of the abbot and convent.<sup>96</sup> In 1308 Nicholas de Stokton successfully challenged the appointment on the basis of his papal provision to the benefice.<sup>97</sup> Risetton was ordered to vacate the church and refund revenues,<sup>98</sup> and on 27 March 1310 Stokton took the oath of canonical obedience to the archbishop for Bracewell.<sup>99</sup> Risetton became rector of Adel in 1309.<sup>100</sup> This provides an interesting illustration of how papal provision could over-ride the rights of an ecclesiastical patron even after formal induction and institution had taken place.

In 1347 a vicarage was ordained at Bracewell by Archbishop Zouche after permission had been given by the king to alienate into mortmain.<sup>101</sup> The archbishop took an annual pension for himself of £1 10s. 0d. and 5s. annually for the dean and chapter. The vicar was to be presented by the abbot and convent who would build, at their own cost, 'a competent mansion-house'. The vicar would be paid seven marks per annum, a figure well below that considered adequate by the fourth Lateran Council. The vicar would provide lights for the altar and the monastery would bear all other burdens, ordinary and extraordinary, repairs and new buildings of chancel, archdiaconal procurations, synodals and tenths for the taxation of the church. On two occasions, in 1459 and 1491, presentation to the living lapsed to the archbishop.<sup>102</sup>

The Tempests did not lose their interest in Bracewell church. A chantry was built at the east end, probably during the reign of Henry VII, a north aisle was added, the pillars of which bear the niche on their western face characteristic of 'Tempest' churches. After the Dissolution the family again acquired the advowson and the last presentation made by a Tempest was in 1593.

The church of Marton had passed, before 1219, to Bolton Priory but a pension of 20s. was paid to Kirkstall in recognition of its interest in it.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>96</sup> *Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters II, A.D. 1305-1342*, ed. W. H. Bliss (1895), p.45.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, II, 78.

<sup>100</sup> W. T. Lancaster, 'Adel', *PTh.S.*, IV (1895), 280.

<sup>101</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, p.431.

<sup>102</sup> These details are taken from T. D. Whitaker, *History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven*, 2nd edn (1912), p.102.

<sup>103</sup> *EYC*, VII, 240.

The position of Gilkirk, or St Mary-le-Gill, is an interesting one. The church stands in a beautiful hollow about one and a half miles from Barnoldswick towards Thornton, on what was probably the very edge of the land held by Kirkstall in that area. The oldest part of the present church is late medieval and there is a date, interpreted as 1524, on the south face of the tower.<sup>104</sup> There was almost certainly, however, a church or chapel on the site at an earlier date. No church is mentioned in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas of 1291 nor does there appear to be any reference in the diocesan registers to the institution of an incumbent. It seems possible that the church was built by or for the parishioners of Barnoldswick in compensation for the loss of their own parish church and that it was perhaps served by the monks. This view is supported by the case, brought before the archbishop in 1308, in which the monks were accused by the vicar of Bracewell of trying to raise their 'chapel' of Gilkirk into a parish church.<sup>105</sup> The land surrounding the church would have been in Bracewell parish. The church is there referred to as 'appropriated', but no vicarage appears to have been ordained.

In 1456 the church of Middleton-in-Pickering was appropriated to Kirkstall and a vicarage ordained.<sup>106</sup> The archbishop reserved annually to himself £1 to pay for repairs to his cathedral, and 5s. for the dean and chapter, and made provision for distribution to the poor of Middleton at Easter and Christmas. The abbey was again required to provide a competent mansion. The vicar's share was on this occasion rather higher – £10 – and he also received 6s. 8d. for the bread, wine and lights necessary for the high altar of his church.

In 1359 Kirkstall had become the owner of several churches and chapels in Holderness, which had formerly belonged to the alien priory of Burstall,<sup>107</sup> a cell of Aumale.<sup>108</sup> The churches were Burstall itself, Aldborough, Kilnsea, Owthorne, Paull, Skeckling and Withernsea, in all of which vicarages had already been ordained. By these grants Kirkstall came to possess more churches than any other Cistercian house, at least in Yorkshire.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>104</sup> N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Yorkshire: the West Riding* (Harmondsworth, 1959), p.208.

<sup>105</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, V, 208.

<sup>106</sup> J. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense* (York, 1758), p.294. The circumstances of its acquisition are not known, but it was still held by the abbey at the Dissolution (Account 1539–40).

<sup>107</sup> The site of Burstall is said now to be under the sea.

<sup>108</sup> *CPR*, 1391–96, p.585.

<sup>109</sup> A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947), pp.116–17.

*Relations with other Orders*

Apart from the dissolution of the Templars, with which the abbot and abbey of Kirkstall were directly concerned, the abbey was brought into contact with other orders through disputes arising either out of the proximity of their lands, as at Bramhope with St Leonard's Hospital, York; through difficulties arising from the transfer of land after the original grant, as at Keighley and Horsforth with Haverholm Priory; or about tithe, as at Leeds and Adel with Holy Trinity Priory, York.<sup>110</sup>

The abbot of Kirkstall was among those summoned to York by Archbishop Greenfield in May 1311 to give effect to Clement V's order to suppress the Knights Templar. The abbey was one of twenty-four in the province of York ordered to receive a Templar when he had confessed and been absolved. By 1312, however, the Templar at Kirkstall had been allowed to escape,<sup>111</sup> and the vicar-general gave strict orders that they should recapture him within a month or ecclesiastical censures would be published throughout the diocese of York.<sup>112</sup> The sequel is not recorded.

Relations with St Leonard's Hospital, York, seem to have been bad, partly through the proximity of their lands at Bramhope and partly through the hospital's claim for thraves, that is, twenty sheaves of corn for every plough in the diocese of York. This claim, based on a grant said to have been made by King Athelstan in 936, was the cause of frequent disputes, but was resolutely upheld by successive popes.<sup>113</sup> Kirkstall's quarrel, and that of other Cistercian abbeys in Yorkshire, arose in 1225 following the legislation of the fourth Lateran Council. An arrangement was arrived at before the dean and chapter of York, the archdeacon and other ecclesiastics, by which the abbeys would continue to pay thraves on land acquired after 1215 if it had been paid by the previous owner before that date, this presumably exempting land newly brought under cultivation after that date.<sup>114</sup>

In 1274 the mill at Bramhope was leased to the master of St Leonard's,<sup>115</sup> but in 1299 the abbot took action against Walter, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, then master, for laying waste

<sup>110</sup> The abbey's relations with other churches were concerned almost entirely with tithe.

<sup>111</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, 364; V, xxxix.

<sup>112</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, V, 1-2.

<sup>113</sup> *VCH, Yorkshire*, III, 336.

<sup>114</sup> *CB*, pp. 266-68.

<sup>115</sup> *CB*, pp. xv-xvi.

houses and gardens in Bramhope which the abbey had leased for a number of years to a former master.<sup>116</sup>

In 1377, on the petition of the master (a royal clerk), Edward III appointed a commission to hear charges against Abbot John (de Thornberg) who, in company with certain merchants, 'Taillours', and others, had entered houses and lands in York and elsewhere, breaking down and stealing trees, hunting game and attacking servants.<sup>117</sup>

Kirkstall was brought into contact with the Gilbertine house of Haverholm through lands in Horsforth and lands and a mill in Keighley which Adam FitzPeter had granted to Haverholm, and the use of which had been made over to Kirkstall before 1162 at a rent of £4.<sup>118</sup> In 1234, just after the Everingham family had succeeded to Adam's inheritance, the abbot of Kirkstall summoned the prior of Haverholm to show why he had not performed the services due to Margaret of Rivers, lady of Harewood and tenant-in-chief.<sup>119</sup> This was only the beginning of a series of disputes<sup>120</sup> lasting until 1314 when it was adjudged that the abbot of Kirkstall might in future settle direct with the lord of Harewood in respect of services due, at Everingham's expense.<sup>121</sup>

### *The Abbot and the outside World*

The outside activities of the abbot of an important Cistercian house such as Fountains or Rievaulx, even within his own order, were such as to fill a considerable part of the year. He was obliged to visit the general chapter, to visit the daughters of his own house and to pay a visit to the monastery from which it had itself sprung – each of these annually.<sup>122</sup> Having no daughters, Kirkstall was spared the second of these duties and the comparative proximity of Fountains lightened the burden of the third, but at least in earlier days there was no escaping the first of these duties. Monasteries in distant countries had obtained permission to attend less frequently, but the petition of the English abbots for a similar concession had been turned down in no uncertain manner.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>116</sup> *Monastic Notes*, I, ed. W. P. Baildon, *Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series*, XVII (1895).

<sup>117</sup> *CPR*, 1377–81, p.95. The further activities of this abbot are recorded above, p.50.

<sup>118</sup> *CB*, pp.67–68.

<sup>119</sup> *CB*, pp.1–2.

<sup>120</sup> *Monastic Notes*, I, 108, 111.

<sup>121</sup> *CB*, pp.227–28.

<sup>122</sup> Knowles, *MO*, p.262.

<sup>123</sup> Canivez, I, 272, 'Petitio . . . nullatenus admittitur'.

Only on three occasions is it possible to be reasonably certain that the abbot of Kirkstall was present at the general chapter. In 1217 he brought news of the illness of the abbot of Rufford;<sup>124</sup> in 1300 royal protection was granted to the abbot 'going to his general chapter';<sup>125</sup> and in 1327 William, abbot of Kirkstall, 'going beyond the seas to the general chapter', nominated two attorneys.<sup>126</sup> Royal protection was also granted in that year.<sup>127</sup>

There are, however, reasons for believing that the abbot attended more frequently than this. A letter from Hugh Grimston, abbot between 1284 and 1304, suggests that he was present at the chapter in 1287.<sup>128</sup> Petitions were presented in 1258 for permission to celebrate annually the anniversary of their founders<sup>129</sup> and in 1282 for the dispersal of the community,<sup>130</sup> but though these might not of course have been presented in person, it is probable that they were. In 1300 and 1327, when the abbot did attend the chapter, royal protection was given. It is possible, therefore, that, when no special reason is given for the grant of royal protection for the abbot for a short period, he was attending the chapter. Such occasions would add 1312<sup>131</sup> and 1322<sup>132</sup> to the list of possible attendances. The statutes do not confirm either of them. With the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War references to English houses disappear from the statutes. The chapter seems to take a new interest in the English houses from 1409 onwards. In that year a visitation of them by the abbot of Pontigny was ordered<sup>133</sup> and in 1410 the chapter ordered that they should send two abbots only to the chapter, one from each province, the remainder being excused as long as the wars should last.<sup>134</sup> In 1437 the English abbots were allowed by Pope Eugenius IV to celebrate a general chapter for themselves every three years either in England or in Wales.<sup>135</sup>

Attendance at the general chapter often brought with it new duties, some of which must have involved a considerable expenditure of time. In 1214 the abbot of Kirkstall was directed to

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p.469.

<sup>125</sup> *CPR*, 1292-1301, p.515.

<sup>126</sup> *CPR*, 1327-30, p.132.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1.

<sup>128</sup> *Fundacio*, p.189, 'Finitis ad tempus capituli generalis angustiis de Simone'.

<sup>129</sup> Canivez, II, 444.

<sup>130</sup> Canivez, III, 212.

<sup>131</sup> *CPR*, 1307-13, p.435.

<sup>132</sup> *CPR*, 1321-24, pp.85, 120.

<sup>133</sup> Canivez, IV, 117.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p.132.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p.421.

enquire into the quarrel between James the clerk and the abbot of Rufford.<sup>136</sup> As no abbot was deputed to inform him of the general chapter's order, it may be that the abbot of Kirkstall was present on this occasion also. In 1264 the complaint of Dieulacres against Hulton was committed for investigation to the abbots of Roche, Kirkstall and Jervaulx.<sup>137</sup> That the abbot of Roche was deputed to inform his colleagues suggests that the abbot of Kirkstall was not present. In 1237 the complaint of Stanley against Merevale was committed to Roche, Salley and Kirkstall, and the abbot of Combe was to inform them,<sup>138</sup> while in 1247 the settlement of the dispute between Calder and Holm Cultram was entrusted to the abbots of Kirkstall and Salley.<sup>139</sup>

The nature of some of these disputes is illustrated by the case between Furness and Salley in 1220 which the abbots of Kirkstall and Byland were called upon to settle. The dispute had arisen about the proximity of granges at Winterburn and Stainton. The two abbots decided that both granges should remain and the parties in dispute accepted the decision 'amicably'.<sup>140</sup>

A later abbot of Kirkstall, John Topcliffe, also found himself at Furness in 1367, on this occasion in the company of the abbots of Furness, Whalley, Holme and Salley, with a monk from Cîteaux, to decide a dispute between the abbot and the monks. This time the abbots were ordered by the king to supervise the visitation.<sup>141</sup> The abbot is found as a witness to charters of other Cistercian houses, notably the grant of smithies and land bearing iron-ore at Blacker, in Upper Hoyland, to Rievaulx, witnessed by the first abbot, Alexander, and his monk, Serlo.<sup>142</sup>

In 1407 the abbot of Kirkstall, at the invitation of the abbots of Waverley and Furness, was joint president with the abbot of Thame at a chapter held at Combe Abbey.<sup>143</sup> This was the last called in England independently of the general chapter during the Great Schism.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Canivez, I, 425.

<sup>137</sup> Canivez, II, 164.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p.183.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p.324.

<sup>140</sup> *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, II, ed. John Brownbill, Chetham Society, LXXVI, ii(1916), 475. This case does not appear in Canivez, though the abbots claim the authority of the 'domini Cisterciensis' for their action.

<sup>141</sup> *CPR*, 1364-67, p.404.

<sup>142</sup> *EYC*, III, 363-64, see also p.340 for witness to a grant of land to Fountains.

<sup>143</sup> *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, II, ed. John Brownbill, Chetham Society, LXXVIII, iii(1919), 699.

<sup>144</sup> On the effect of the Great Schism on English Cistercian houses, see Knowles, *RO*, II, 168-69, or, more fully, Rose Graham, 'The Great Schism and the English Monasteries of the Cistercian Order', *EHR*, XLIV (1929), 373-87.

The abbot was also called upon occasionally to intervene in the affairs of houses outside his own order. Thus Abbot Turgisius went in 1196 as papal delegate to the house of canons at Guisborough to settle a dispute about tithe between that house and St Mary's, York.<sup>145</sup>

It has already been mentioned that the abbot was called upon to attend the trial of the Templars at York.<sup>146</sup> He served as archbishop's commissioner in the enclosure of a hermit at Beeston in 1294, although there had been an agreement that no anchorite or anchoress should be established there except by consent of the prior and monks of Holy Trinity, York.<sup>147</sup> In the same year the abbot enclosed Sibil de Insula near the chapel of St Edmund, Doncaster.<sup>148</sup>

The only parliament to which the abbot appears to have been summoned is the 'de Montfort' parliament of 1265, together with many other ecclesiastics of every order.<sup>149</sup> Although Cistercian abbots were frequently summoned to attend parliament in Edward I's reign<sup>150</sup> the abbot of Kirkstall does not appear among them.<sup>151</sup> He was, however, summoned to attend a royal council at York in 1319.<sup>152</sup>

The abbot served as the king's commissioner on at least two occasions, in 1411 and 1496, when he received the homage of members of the Clifford family for their lands.<sup>153</sup>

The records that remain are too few to enable any complete picture of the abbot's activities outside the monastery to be drawn from them. They do seem to emphasise, however, that Kirkstall was not a monastery of first importance. Compared with Fountains the number of occasions when its abbot was used by the general chapter was small. The abbot was not consulted by the ecclesiastical or secular authorities to any appreciable extent, and the number of occasions when he was used by them, when considered against a background of nearly 400 years of history, is small indeed. Unless the shortage of evidence is misleading us it

<sup>145</sup> *Cartularium prioratus de Gyseburne*, II, ed. W. Brown, SS, LXXXIX (1894), 41.

<sup>146</sup> See above, p.75.

<sup>147</sup> *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 140; see also *EYC*, III, 281.

<sup>148</sup> *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 141.

<sup>149</sup> *CCR*, 1264-68, p.86.

<sup>150</sup> H. M. Chew, *English Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-Chief and Knight Service* (Oxford, 1932), p.171.

<sup>151</sup> The name of the abbot of Kirkstall does not appear in Miss Chew's source, *The Lords' Report on the Dignity of a Peer*.

<sup>152</sup> *CCR*, 1318-23, p.202.

<sup>153</sup> *CCR*, 1409-13, p.158; 1494-1509.

would seem that the abbot could not have been unduly distracted from the business of his house by affairs outside it, while many of the duties in the outside world which he was required to perform were in the service of his order or of the Church as a whole.

## *The Last Years*

### *Economic Change*

A comparison of the surviving rent-roll<sup>1</sup> with figures given in the account for the year immediately following the Dissolution (1539–40)<sup>2</sup> makes possible some conclusions about the economic life of the abbey during the last eighty years of its history.

Two points, however, must be noted. The Bardsey and Collingham lands are not shown in the 1459 rent-roll. In 1539–40 they were producing rents of about £100, a net gain to the abbey of £10 per annum when the £90 fee-farm had been paid. Secondly, the years 1537–38 saw the leasing of almost all the abbey's demesne lands. These two items must therefore be omitted from the account before comparisons are made.

When this has been done two matters become immediately apparent – a large increase in income from rents to the extent of perhaps £39 annually and a considerably more effective exploitation of granges, which increased the total income from this source by some £24. Given a total income from rents of £358 in 1539 this means that a 21.3 per cent increase had taken place. The increase in income from rents is partly from newly acquired land, notably in Leeds itself<sup>3</sup> and possibly at Seacroft, but also from an increase in rents from existing holdings, notably in Bramley, Armley and Newhall.

A number of granges which appear not to have been leased or let for rent in 1459 had been let by 1539. These included a second grange at Armley (Wether Grange had been let in 1459), New Lathe (Horsforth), Brearey, one of the abbey's oldest granges, Chapel Allerton and a second grange at Allerton, Darrington and Rushton.

In the last year or so of the abbey's history there was a very rapid leasing of almost all the abbey's demesne lands, which lay mainly in West Headingley and Cookridge, but with the smaller amounts in Bramley, Eccup and Bardsey.<sup>4</sup> This process began in August 1537 and was complete by the end of 1538.

<sup>1</sup> 'A Rent-Roll of Kirkstall Abbey', pp. 1–21.

<sup>2</sup> Account 1539–40.

<sup>3</sup> W. T. Lancaster, 'The Possessions of Kirkstall Abbey in Leeds', *PTh.S.*, IV (1895), 37–41.

<sup>4</sup> The Kirkstall leases are in the Public Record Office, E303/23/Yorkshire, nos. 325–430.

Kirkstall appears to have been very late in leasing its lands on this scale. R. B. Smith's conclusion, from his study of eight other Yorkshire houses of different orders was that nearly one-third of the leases had been granted before 1530.<sup>5</sup> At Kirkstall, of the eighty-eight leases for which details are available only two had been granted by 1530 and it was 1538 before one-third of them had been granted. The close association of the last abbot with the Pilgrimage of Grace suggests a conservative attitude in the leadership of the house and it was perhaps the failure of the Pilgrimage of Grace and the beginning of the attack upon the larger houses which led to the conclusion that the old ways could not be re-established. Smith suggests that with the Dissolution approaching the monasteries were interested in quick financial gains and in acquiring goodwill among their neighbours.<sup>6</sup>

G. W. O. Woodward sees the opportunity of extracting a fine from the lessee when leases were granted as one of the ways in which holders of estates 'tried to meet the inflationary spiral of the sixteenth century'.<sup>7</sup> Smith has said that 'There is nothing to show whether fines were levied in these late leases'.<sup>8</sup> The Kirkstall documents show clearly the payment of a fine or gressom in almost every case. The amount of the fine is rarely stated. The most usual term of a lease was forty years, but periods ranging from twenty to fifty-one years are found, and, occasionally, for life.

Even in these last years, however, when nearly all its land had passed out of the abbey's direct control, the overall picture still retained some distinctively Cistercian features. The Kirkstall accounts show only two whole manors out to farm in such a way that the tenants had no direct connection with the monastery. These were Lyngarth, near Huddersfield, isolated from the rest of the abbey's possessions, and Clifford, near Wetherby, leased by John Chambers and William, his son. Their rents together totalled £22 and it is certainly not true of Kirkstall, as Knowles asserted in general terms, that, as between manors and separate tenancies, 'the former accounted for the larger part of the income'.<sup>9</sup>

The other feature which is perhaps distinctively Cistercian is the comparatively little dependence on ecclesiastical sources of revenue. At the Dissolution, excluding the churches acquired with

<sup>5</sup>R. B. Smith, *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII* (Oxford, 1970), p.82.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.81-83.

<sup>7</sup>G. W. O. Woodward, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (1966), p.11.

<sup>8</sup>Smith, *Land and Politics*, p.11.

<sup>9</sup>Knowles, *RO*, III, 250.

Burstall Priory, Kirkstall was receiving the £30 farm of the rectory of Middleton, £6 13s. 4d., rent of lands pertaining to the rectory of Bracewell, and £15 16s. 8d. rent and farm of tithes in Barnoldswick and the other villis in its parish – a total of £52 10s. 0d., or about one-eighth of its income, less the £90 fee-farm of Bardsey and Collingham. Of this sum £4 13s. 4d. was paid to the curate at Gilkirk and £1 0s. 6d. to York in synodals and procurations. The contrast with a Benedictine house can be seen by looking at Burstall Priory, which Kirkstall had acquired in 1396. There the income from churches made up about three-quarters of the total.<sup>10</sup>

Of the other sources of income the mining of minerals was confined to Horsforth and produced only 2s. 4d. in the year 1539–40, by no means a typical year. The abbey owned smithies in Weetwood and Hesywell which were leased to Sir Robert Nevill in 1538, with permission to take as much wood as he needed to make charcoal.<sup>11</sup> Mills yielded £21, mainly from Bar Grange, at Burley on the north bank of the Aire, where water-power was abundant. Included among the assets were over 3,000 acres of woodland,<sup>12</sup> the value of which cannot be estimated and little of which was worked in the year of the surrender. The actual figures for woodland must be much higher as no figures are given for Bramley or Chapel Allerton. About two-thirds of the 3,000 acres was in Cookridge, but the wood of Hawksworth, immediately west of the abbey site, accounted for 800 acres.

Boon-work had been commuted to a money-payment at the rate of 3d. or 4d. per *precaria*, or in Bardsey *galline* (hens), which brought in £3 17s. 0½d. in the year 1539–40. The abbot collected the customary wapentake fine in certain areas, yielding £1 6s. 6½d. The total income for the lands of Kirkstall for the years before the wholesale leasing of demesne might therefore appear as follows:

<sup>10</sup> Figures from the 1539–40 Account. The separate section for Burstall in this account and the omission of the Burstall properties from the 1459 rent-roll suggests that, although Burstall had been acquired in 1396, its accounts had been kept separate and had never been amalgamated with those of the parent house.

<sup>11</sup> Lease 378. PRO, E303/23 Yorkshire. The smithies were later held by Thomas Pepper, a former monk of Kirkstall. R. A. Mott has argued that the forge on the abbey site itself did not come into existence until c. 1600, 'Kirkstall Forge and Monkish Iron-making', *PTh.S.*, LIII (1972), 160–66.

<sup>12</sup> Account 1539–40.

	£
Rents from lands and mills	348
Rent from Bardsey and Collingham	
£100, less £90 fee-farm	10
Churches	52
Boon-work, wapentake fines, say	5
	<hr/>
	£415

The commissioners compiling the *Valor* were to deduct allowances amounting to about 8 per cent of the total income of the house,<sup>13</sup> leaving Kirkstall with a net income of £367 on which the tenth would be based.<sup>14</sup>

### *The Surrender of the House*

Of the late abbots of Kirkstall two were almost certainly members of local families with a long connection with the abbey and both were from the group of notable families which had become established in the Potter Newton area of Allerton by the end of the fourteenth century. The editor of the 1459 rent-roll, referring to John Killingbeck, a free tenant of Allerton, wrote, 'His son joins the fraternity, and in due time becomes abbot'.<sup>15</sup> It seems likely that Abbot Killingbeck came of this family, but there is no firm evidence. There can be no doubt, however, that Abbot William Marshall came of the Allerton family of that name. Christopher Marshall of Potter Newton made his will in 1519<sup>16</sup> and appointed 'my brother, the lord William Marshall, abbot of Kirkstall' to supervise its execution and to approve the appointment of a priest who, for one year, should sing masses for the souls of his father and mother and 'all cristyn saullys'.

At the surrender the community consisted of abbot, prior, sub-prior and twenty-nine monks.<sup>17</sup> In addition to these, one other monk is known from the last years. His name is not recorded, but he is known to have been imprisoned in Pontefract Castle by

<sup>13</sup> Knowles, *RO*, III, 242.

<sup>14</sup> Knowles, *RO*, III, 244, n. 1, gives £336 for Kirkstall but does not explain how this figure was arrived at. Since calculations have been based on 1539-40, the year of surrender when economic activity was likely to have been below rather than above the normal level, one might have expected a figure of more rather than less than £367.

<sup>15</sup> 'A Rent-Roll of Kirkstall Abbey', p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> 'Testamenta Leodiensia' [1496-1524], p. 146.

<sup>17</sup> *CLP*, 1539, II, 198. See A. Lonsdale, 'The Last Monks of Kirkstall Abbey', *PTh.S.*, LIII (1972), 201-15.

Thomas, Lord Darcy, as steward of Pontefract, for coining. The date was probably 1522.<sup>18</sup> Where Kirkstall held whole townships it might be expected that the 1539 rent-roll would include the names of most of their inhabitants. A comparison of the names of the monks with the names of local families suggests few local connections. Of the thirty-two members of the community only six similar names appear on the rent-roll and this of course by no means proves a connection. Thomas Pepper, one of the junior monks,<sup>19</sup> was the son of John Pepper, yeoman, of Bramley. It is possible that William Lupton was of the family of that name, also of Bramley.<sup>20</sup> The prior was John Browne and there was a monk Gilbert Browne, while there were families of that name among the abbey's tenants in Bramley and Horsforth. There were families by name Matthew in Eccup, and Sandall in Bramley,<sup>21</sup> and there were Claughtons in Bramley and Horsforth.

Of the thirty early sixteenth-century wills of local residents published,<sup>22</sup> only three included bequests to the abbey. All of them were by tenants of the abbey, two by the Midgleys, who held Bar Grange, and one, dated 1503, by William Fawcett of Bar Grange. There were all of small amounts, either 5s. or 40d. to the abbot and about 4d. to each member of the community.

On 4 June 1535 Richard Layton petitioned Cromwell for a commission for himself and Dr Thomas Legh<sup>23</sup> to visit the monasteries of northern England.<sup>24</sup> The collection of the figures which make up the *Valor* had been undertaken earlier in the year and Layton realised that 'far-sighted superiors had read the signs of the times and were acting accordingly'.<sup>25</sup> Disposal of stock, the selling or hiding of plate and precious stones and a process of leasing lands had already begun.<sup>26</sup> It was not until the end of the year, however, that Layton received his commission and in the depths of the winter of 1535-36 Legh and Layton travelled over one thousand miles and visited 121 houses in northern counties.<sup>27</sup> They

<sup>18</sup> *CLP*, 1537, I, 66. From papers seized from Darcy when he was executed after the Pilgrimage of Grace.

<sup>19</sup> Pepper's will is discussed below, p.89.

<sup>20</sup> Woodward, pp.150, 159; Account 1539-40.

<sup>21</sup> See below, pp.88-89, for the later history of Edward Sandall.

<sup>22</sup> 'Testamenta Leodiensia' [1496-1524], pp.1-16, 139-47.

<sup>23</sup> For short biographies of these, the best-known of Cromwell's visitors, see Knowles, *RO*, III, 270-73.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p.268.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> See Knowles, *RO*, III, 268, but so far only a small part of Kirkstall's property had been let on this kind of lease. See above, pp.81-82.

<sup>27</sup> Knowles, *RO*, III, 286 and Appendix VI, pp.476-77.

came to Kirkstall from Fountains and Ripon and turned north again to visit Bolton and Jervaulx.<sup>28</sup>

Dr Woodward has shown that the visitors achieved their remarkable speed of working partly by reducing their enquiry to tabular form and by concentrating on five items of information only. 'These items are: first, the names of those monks or nuns declared guilty of certain offences against the vow of chastity; secondly, the names of those who want to be released from their vows and leave the cloister; thirdly, what the visitors call the "superstition" of the house, that is to say the relic or relics held in special esteem there; fourthly, the name of the "founder" of the house, that is to say the living heir of the first benefactor who was regarded as having a hereditary and particular interest in the affairs of the convent; and lastly, in round figures, the income of the house, and, where applicable, its debts.'<sup>29</sup> The information collected could therefore be expressed very briefly and for Kirkstall it reads as follows: '3 sod. Girdle of St Bernard for lying-in. Founder, the King. Rents £329'.<sup>30</sup>

Professor Knowles has discussed exhaustively the references to sexual offences in the visitors' findings.<sup>31</sup> A quick perusal of the entries for other houses shows that many of them possessed a girdle or tunic, generally named after one of the saints, which was presumably loaned to women to help them in child-birth. Bath had the 'vincula Sancti Petri'; Grace Dieu, the girdle and tunic of St Francis; and Bromholm the girdle of St Mary.<sup>32</sup> Kirkstall had passed to the earl of Lancaster through the marriage of the heiress, Alice Lacy, with Thomas of Lancaster 'on or before 28 October 1294' and to the crown with the accession of the first Lancastrian king in 1399.<sup>33</sup>

The visitations were complete by the end of February 1536; in April the process of dissolving the smaller houses began. Kirkstall's near neighbours, the nunnery at Arthington and Holy Trinity Priory, York, which held the parish church of Leeds and collected tithe from the parish, were among those to go at this early stage. Sir Arthur Darcy, who later acquired Kirkstall property, was granted the Priory's former possessions in Leeds.

<sup>28</sup> *CLP*, 1536, X, 142.

<sup>29</sup> Woodward, pp. 32–33. See also Knowles, *RO*, III, 287–88.

<sup>30</sup> *CLP*, 1536, X, 142.

<sup>31</sup> Knowles, *RO*, III, 296–303.

<sup>32</sup> These examples are all included in extracts from the Visitors' reports printed by Knowles, *RO*, III, 288.

<sup>33</sup> R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, I (1953), pp. 189, 138.

At the end of 1536 the north of England was shaken by the Pilgrimage of Grace.<sup>34</sup> The disturbances started in Lincolnshire in October 1536. There was a further rising in Yorkshire and York was occupied on 24 October. Thomas, Lord Darcy, Sir Arthur's father and steward of Pontefract, surrendered the castle there and joined the rebels. A great council of 'pilgrims' was summoned to Pontefract on 2 December and the clergy were to meet at Pontefract at the same time, in what some have called a 'convocation'. John Ripley, last abbot of Kirkstall, and 'one of the more learned of the northern clergy',<sup>35</sup> was one of a small but distinguished group which met at the priory in Pontefract on 4 December and then retired to discuss questions and propositions first placed by Robert Aske before Archbishop Lee of York, who had also joined the rebels. John Dakyn, rector of Kirby Ravensworth and vicar-general of York, gave an eye-witness account of the proceedings to the enquiry which followed the defeat of the rising. He noted that the abbot of Kirkstall sat 'at the table-end' and thought him a sober man who spoke little. While the abbot was clearly a party to these proceedings he seems to have made little active contribution. Neither Dakyn nor Pickering, a Dominican friar who was also present,<sup>36</sup> mentions the abbot except to note his presence. It is not possible, therefore, to know what were the abbot's opinions on the range of expectedly conservative views expressed.

Sir Henry Savile, writing to Cromwell in January 1537, mentioned riots between the abbot's servants and those of Sir Christopher Danby. He commented on the abbot's 'lightness' and thought there was 'cause enough to depose him; and a good man there (for it is a house with great lands) would do the king good service'.<sup>37</sup> However, John Ripley was not deposed, nor did he suffer the fate of his brother abbots of Jervaulx, Sawley and Whalley and the former abbot of Fountains, William Thirsk, who, with Friar Pickering, the abbot's companion at Pontefract, were all executed.<sup>38</sup>

The rising, with its small later outbursts at Scarborough and Hull, was over by the end of January 1537. It was in that month that the leasing of the abbey's demesne lands began, and over the next two years practically the whole of the abbey's demesne was leased.

<sup>34</sup> The fullest account is by M. H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536, and the Exeter Conspiracy, 1538*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1915). There are shorter accounts in J. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors, 1485-1558* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 385-93, and Knowles, *RO*, III, 320-35.

<sup>35</sup> See Smith, *Land and Politics*, p. 198.

<sup>36</sup> *CLP*, 1537, XII (i), 341, 462-64.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 130-34.

<sup>38</sup> Knowles, *RO*, III, 332, 334.

It was in his dealings with the abbeys which had caused trouble during the Pilgrimage of Grace that the earl of Sussex paved the way to deal with the larger abbeys. After leaving Sawley and Whalley, Sussex had turned his attention to the great abbey of Furness and 'almost at a venture, suggested that [the abbot] might feel disposed to make a free surrender of his house'.<sup>39</sup> Kirkstall's turn came late. It was on 22 November 1539<sup>40</sup> that John Ripley and thirty-one members of the community, in their chapter-house, surrendered the abbey to the same Richard Layton who had visited them in 1535.<sup>41</sup>

### *The Fate of the Community*

The fate of Abbot Ripley is not altogether clear. He was present at the surrender in the chapter-house, but after that his name disappears from the records. The monks' superior is named as John Brown, prior. Allister Lonsdale, after a study of the archbishops' registers, assumed that Ripley and Brown were the same person<sup>42</sup> and this may be so. The pension which was granted on 1 March 1540 and back-dated to Michaelmas 1539<sup>43</sup> was of 100 marks, a sum appropriate to the head of a house the size of Kirkstall. Ripley (or Brown) was made sub-deacon in 1513<sup>44</sup> and cannot therefore have been abbot for the first time in 1508–09.<sup>45</sup> He is said to have lived in the abbey gate-house until his death.<sup>46</sup>

All members of the community have been studied individually and the available information about each of them has been collected.<sup>47</sup> There are, however, some more general points which may be made. Knowles noted that it was much more difficult for an ex-monk to find a benefice in northern England than in the south. Because of the number of monasteries, the number of monks seeking benefices was large; because of their great size the number of parishes was small. General wealth was less. It is perhaps surprising, therefore, that so many former monks of Kirkstall served in parishes after the Dissolution. Edward Sandall

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 332.

<sup>40</sup> See *CLP*, 1539, XIV (ii), 198, not 1540, as in Dugdale, *MA*, V, 529.

<sup>41</sup> For the deed of surrender, see T. Rymer, *Foedera*, XIV (1712), 663, which also gives 1540 as the date.

<sup>42</sup> Lonsdale, p. 204.

<sup>43</sup> *CPR*, 1558–60, p. 576.

<sup>44</sup> Lonsdale, p. 204.

<sup>45</sup> See Dugdale, *MA*, V, 528, n. 23.

<sup>46</sup> Lonsdale, p. 204.

<sup>47</sup> Lonsdale, pp. 204–12.

became a chantry priest in York and later served a cure at Tadcaster;<sup>48</sup> Gabriel Lofthouse became a chaplain in Richmond and on his death in 1552 was buried in Richmond parish church; Thomas Pepper was rector of Adel from 1551 to 1553; William Northives was 'clerk of Adel' in the 1540s; Anthony Jackson was curate of Horsforth, later of Otley, and in 1558 was described as 'curate of Horsforth Hall, Guiseley'. William Lupton is said to have been curate of Huddersfield; Richard Bateson may have been curate of Spofforth and rector of Birkin. John Henryson was possibly curate and chantry-priest of Leeds and was buried in Leeds parish church in 1545.

Pepper, at least, could have lived in considerable comfort. When he died his will included bequests totalling more than £86, ten angels of gold and a debt of £20 which he forgave the debtor. Two men-servants and possibly three women-servants were mentioned in his will, showing that he had been living 'in a style and manner more appropriate to a minor gentleman than to an ex-religious on a subsistence pension'.<sup>49</sup> The rectory of Adel would have added £16 to his pension of £5; his leaseholds certainly brought him in more than the £20 he paid in rent. His father had left him the family property in Bramley and his purchases included the prosperous Weetwood ironworks leased at the surrender of the house to Sir Robert Neville. By contrast, Edward Heptonstall left cash bequests amounting to only £3 12s., and Gabriel Lofthouse left only very meagre personal possessions.<sup>50</sup>

Of the ex-monks it must have been Edward Sandall who caused the authorities most concern. He had served a number of chantry chapels in York in the years immediately following the surrender of the house, but in February 1568 he was presented at the archbishop's visitation as 'a misliker of the established religion and a sower of seditious rumours'. It was alleged that he openly maintained the doctrine of praying to the saints; that though as a 'corrupter of youth' he was forbidden to teach, he yet continued to do so and that he read romances instead of the scriptures. He was also reputed to be a great usurer. He pleaded guilty only to the charge of reading romances and vigorously denied all the others. He was allowed to purge himself by the oath of twelve men, but was punished when it was found that he had served at Tadcaster without admission by the diocesan authorities.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> The information which follows is taken from Lonsdale, *passim*.

<sup>49</sup> Woodward, p. 150.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>51</sup> *VCH, Yorkshire, The City of York*, ed. P. Tillott (1961), p. 150.

The wills studied by Dr Woodward show no evidence of any attempt to continue a communal life of any kind,<sup>52</sup> but they provide plenty of evidence of continued contact between the former members of the Kirkstall community, a number of whom had settled in the immediate neighbourhood. Thomas Pepper, for example, mentioned four of his former brethren in his will.<sup>53</sup>

The total pension bill amounted to £239 14s. 3d.<sup>54</sup> Dr Woodward has shown that Kirkstall had an unusually large number of annuitants dependent upon it, adding a further charge upon the house of £73 3s. 4d. Thus there would clearly be a heavy charge upon the income from the former monastery's possessions for a number of years after the surrender, but these would be reduced as pensioners and annuitants died.

Links can be traced between former monks of Kirkstall and Catholic recusancy in Yorkshire.<sup>55</sup> Middleton was a known Catholic centre until the middle of the eighteenth century. Paul Mason, a former monk, was associated with Gilbert Leigh of Middleton. Thomas Bertlett, another former monk, referred to 'my host George Hall' in his will and directed 'that there remain at the said George Hall's house my altar with the altar cloths'. Hall had acquired Allerton Grange by indenture in 1533<sup>56</sup> and there is a history of Catholic connections at the Grange until Hall's descendants left in the early eighteenth century.

### *The Lands of Kirkstall*

There was a considerable element of stability in land-holding in the years immediately following the surrender of the house. More than 100 pre-Dissolution leases were continued. Before its winding-up in 1553 the Court of Augmentations had granted twenty-nine new leases, but of these twenty-three were to the former tenant, his widow or his son.

It is noticeable that those who had held land of the abbey before the surrender failed to increase their holdings. Sir William Gascoigne who 'had as much substance as many peers' and who held land of the abbey at Arthington sought favours of Cromwell in 1536-37<sup>57</sup> but failed to gain land. Sir Robert Nevill of

<sup>52</sup> C.f., Knowles, *RO*, III, 412-13.

<sup>53</sup> Printed in full in Woodward, pp.157-61.

<sup>54</sup> *CLP*, 1539, XIV (ii), 198.

<sup>55</sup> For this paragraph, see Lonsdale, pp.212-13.

<sup>56</sup> Account 1539-40.

<sup>57</sup> See Smith, *Land and Politics*, pp.145, 244-45.

Liversedge, who held the Weetwood ironworks on lease, also sought favours from Cromwell but gained nothing and had lost even the ironworks by 1542.<sup>58</sup> The 'manor or grange' of Micklethwaite, with a cottage at Collingham had been leased to Bernard Paver in 1533. Richard Paver (the relationship, if any, is not known), 'the most remarkable case of a rising yeoman',<sup>59</sup> hoped to acquire the property but failed. Henry Mason, the king's collector of rents for most of the abbey's former estates, did not increase his holding.

Some of the abbey's land went to the building of large estates, but those estates were not in the hands of men who had been associated with the abbey. Sir Arthur Darcy, younger son of Lord Darcy, was vigorously and unscrupulously building up an estate in Craven. He gained from the abbey land a large property at Coates (Barnoldswick)<sup>60</sup> to add to lands acquired from Sawley, Healaugh Priory and, in the Leeds area, from Holy Trinity, York.<sup>61</sup> Kirkstall's possessions in York went to Sir Richard Gresham, one of the richest men of his day, who also acquired the site and demesne lands of Fountains.<sup>62</sup> Two of Gresham's associates, Sir Thomas Heneage and Sir Thomas Chaloner, acquired land in Bardsey and Snydale respectively.<sup>63</sup>

Much of the abbey's lands passed to new owners through the hands of agents, of whom the best known and perhaps the most active was William Ramsden. During 1543-46 land in many areas where abbey land had been located passed through his hands. He held little of it for long. The most striking is the property at Pudsey and Loscoe Grange which he acquired on 14 September 1544 and passed to new owners, obviously by a previous arrangement, the next day.<sup>64</sup>

One small piece of land is of some interest. It is well known that Mary tried to re-found some of the monastic houses which had been suppressed during the reign of her father. One such was the Hospital of the Savoy. Folifayt Meadow, part of the Kirkstall lands at Bardsey, was included in the land with which the Hospital was endowed at its re-foundation.<sup>65</sup> This land, under its alternative

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 244-45.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

<sup>60</sup> *CLP*, 1545, XX (ii), 121.

<sup>61</sup> Smith, *Land and Politics*, pp. 228-29, 235-36; *CLP*, 1538, XIII, 1.

<sup>62</sup> *CLP*, 1545, XX (i), 523; Smith, *Land and Politics*, p. 240.

<sup>63</sup> *CPR*, 1548-49, p. 123; 1553, p. 14.

<sup>64</sup> *CLP*, 1544, XIX (ii), p. 184.

<sup>65</sup> *CPR*, 1557-58, p. 361.

name of Kirkstall Ing, was among the Hospital's possessions when it was finally dissolved in 1702.<sup>66</sup>

In 1564 came the largest and most significant grant of the former abbey lands when Rowlande Haywarde and Robert Savile acquired lands in Headingley, Burley, Bar Grange, Armley, Newhall, Allerton by Bradford, Rodley and Moor Grange.<sup>67</sup> These lands were valued at the Dissolution at £100 per year and therefore represented nearly one-third of the abbey's net annual income. Robert Savile was an illegitimate son of Sir Henry Savile. Robert's descendants became successively Baron Savile, Viscount Savile and eventually earl of Sussex, the male line becoming extinct in 1671. In 1668 Frances, sister of the last earl, had married the heir to the earl of Cardigan and so the estates passed into the hands of his family.<sup>68</sup>

By 1711 the Cardigans had also acquired, by means which are not clear, the site of the abbey and the demesne lands. On the surrender of the house this land had been granted on a lease of twenty-one years to Robert Pakenham, the 'farmer of the lord King'.<sup>69</sup> In 1543 these same lands were granted to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>70</sup> Cranmer appears, however, not to have taken possession of the lands, for in 1545 they were surveyed with a view to their acquisition by Cranmer in place of certain other lands held by Cranmer which the King now required.<sup>71</sup> Even now, however, Cranmer appears not to have gained possession, for in August 1547 he was yet again granted the land in fulfilment of Henry VIII's will. This grant was 'for the reversion'. Pakenham had perhaps died and Cranmer may have taken possession, for in 1550 he was given licence to alienate his Kirkstall lands to Peter Hayman and John Sandford, to be held to the use of the archbishop during his lifetime, to his executors for twenty years and to Thomas, the archbishop's youngest son, after that. They were so held until 1557 when they reverted to the Crown on Cranmer's attainder for treason.<sup>72</sup> The lands were immediately assigned to John Gawyn and Reynold Wolf, but in 1559, very soon after Elizabeth's accession, Thomas Cranmer, son of the former archbishop, successfully petitioned for the return of

<sup>66</sup> *VCH, London, I*, ed. W. Page (1909), p. 548.

<sup>67</sup> *CPR, 1563-66*, p. 148.

<sup>68</sup> *G.E.C., The Complete Peerage*, v.c. Savile.

<sup>69</sup> *CLP, 1540, XVI*, 721.

<sup>70</sup> *CLP, 1542, XVII*, 256.

<sup>71</sup> *PRO, E318/7/235*. There is an account of the farmer for the year 37 Henry VIII (1545-46) in the library of Lambeth Palace, *Receivers' Accounts*, 1372.

<sup>72</sup> *CPR, 1547-48*, p. 37; *1549-51*, p. 321; *1557*, p. 483.

his father's lands. Ten years later, however, Cranmer was in arrears with his rent and the Crown resumed possession of the lands.<sup>73</sup> There appears to be no further record until they are shown in the Cardigan estate map of 1711.<sup>74</sup>

It will be clear from this account of the history of Kirkstall Abbey that her community was soon in possession of sources of income forbidden by the statutes of the order. Indeed, the consequences of irregular possessions of land, services and rights, which soon became widespread within the English families, were most injurious to the spirit and reputation of the order – the prolonged and unedifying dispute between the monks of Kirkstall and St Leonard's Hospital, York, is only one of countless examples. As a result, the story of the Cistercian order is one of the saddest in the history of monasticism.

Cîteaux and Clairvaux in their early years 'gave as fully and as unhesitatingly as can be given here below, an answer to the question "Good Master, what shall I do that I may possess eternal life?" . . . "Enter here: live as we do: this do, and thou shalt live"'.<sup>75</sup> But, irresistibly attracted by the best and purest Cistercian houses, among which, briefly, Rievaulx, Fountains and Byland were luminaries, the world flocked to their gates, showered them with gifts and put a high value on their intercessions. For a few brief years the light burned brightly and then, perhaps inevitably, was dimmed by those worldly responsibilities and cares from which the writers of the earliest codes and constitutions, in their declaration of the Cistercian ideal, had striven so earnestly to protect them. Kirkstall, as we have seen, was not one of the more distinguished of the white monk houses, nor did any member of her community, except the shadowy Ralph Haget whose true home was Fountains, achieve renown either for sanctity or learning; yet perhaps it may finally be said that, given a life nearly four centuries long, the disorders which from time to time beset the abbey were few and possibly it is not unreasonable to suppose that a decent, if uninspired, observance of the religious life was on the whole maintained over most of this long period.

<sup>73</sup> *CPR*, 1558–60, p.116; 1566–69, p.439.

<sup>74</sup> Northamptonshire Record Office, Brudenell Map 41.

<sup>75</sup> Knowles, *MO*, p.220.



## APPENDIX

### *The Abbots of Kirkstall*

The fullest lists of abbots are those given in the *Fundacio*, pp.187–88, and in volume V of Dugdale, *MA*, where the text has been amended either from the *Fundacio* or from a common source. Both lists can be shown to be unreliable in several particulars. They are used here, therefore, only where no other source is available and with other evidence in support as far as possible. The list given in *VCH, Yorkshire*, III, p.145, is also unreliable as it depends largely on the list in Dugdale.

A valuable list of the early abbots and a discussion of their dates is to be found in C. T. Clay, 'The Early Abbots of Yorkshire Cistercian Houses', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XXXVIII (1952).

The first and last dates only are given here.

Abbot	Dates	Source
Alexander	1147	<i>Fundacio</i> , p.174
	1182	<i>Fundacio</i> , p.181
Ralph Haget	1182	<i>Fundacio</i> , p.181
	(?)1190	<i>Fundacio</i> , p.181n
Lambert	c.1190	<i>Fundacio</i> , p.183
	c.1193	<i>Fundacio</i> , p.185
Turgisius	c.1196	<i>Guisborough Cartulary</i> , II, ed. W. Brown, SS, LXXXIX (1894), 41
	1199–1203	<i>Guisborough Cartulary</i> , p.330 <sup>1</sup>
Helias de Roche	(?)1202 } 1204 }	C. T. Clay, 'The Early Abbots of Yorkshire Cistercian Houses'
Ralph de Newcastle	1204	Clay, 'The Early Abbots'
	1231	'earliest possible date' (Clay)
Walter	(?)1231–33	Clay, 'The Early Abbots'
Maurice	(?)1232	Clay, 'The Early Abbots'
	1249	Dugdale, <i>MA</i> , V, 528 <sup>2</sup>
Adam	1249	Dugdale, <i>MA</i> , V, 528
	occ.1258	Dodsworth, VIII, ff.300, 305
Hugh Mikelay	1259	Dugdale, <i>MA</i> , V, 528
	1262	Dugdale, <i>MA</i> , V, 528 <sup>3</sup>
Simon	1262	Dugdale, <i>MA</i> , V, 528 <sup>4</sup>
	1269	Dugdale, <i>MA</i> , V, 528 <sup>5</sup>
William de Leeds	1269	Dugdale, <i>MA</i> , V, 528 <sup>6</sup>
	1275	Dugdale, <i>MA</i> , V, 528
Gilbert de Cotles/	1275	Dugdale, <i>MA</i> , V, 528

Cothes/Cotes/Coates	1280	Canivez, III, 203 <sup>7</sup>
Henry Kar	1280	Dugdale, MA, V, 529
	1284	<i>Monastic Notes</i> , I, ed. W. P. Baildon, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, XVII (1895), 109
Hugh Grimston	1284	<i>Fundacio</i> , p.188
	1304	<i>Fundacio</i> , p.206 <sup>8</sup>
John de Bridesale	1304	<i>Fundacio</i> , p.206
	1311	<i>Reg. Greenfield</i> , IV, 111
Walter	1314	<i>Reg. Greenfield</i> , II, 183
William de Driffield	1327	<i>CPR</i> , 1327–30, p.132
	1348	<i>CB</i> , p.275
Roger de Leeds	1349	Register of William Zouche, Lord Archbishop of York, f.4
Ralph	1351	<i>Calendar of Papal Letters</i> , III (1897), p.375
John Topcliffe	1355	<i>CCR</i> , 1354–56, p.225
	1368	<i>Monastic Notes</i> , I, 107
John de Thornberg	1369	<i>Monastic Notes</i> , I, 113
	1379	<i>CPR</i> , 1377–81, p.357
John de Bardsey	1392	<i>VCH</i> , Yorkshire, III, 145
	1410	<i>Mem. Fountains</i> , SS, XLII (1863), 207
William de Stapleton	1414	<i>Calendar of Papal Letters</i> , VI (1904), p.410
John de Colyngnam	res. 1433	Canivez, IV, 388 <sup>9</sup>
William Grayson/ Graveson	1452	<i>Monastic Notes</i> , I, 107
	res. 1468	Register of George Nevill, Lord Archbishop of York, f.16
Thomas Wymberslay	1468	Register of George Nevill, Lord Archbishop of York, f.16
	1498	<i>Monastic Notes</i> , I, 107
Robert Killingbeck	1499	Dugdale, MA, V, 529
William Stockdale	1501	Register of Thomas Savage, Lord Archbishop of York, f.11
	1507	<i>Testamenta Eboracensia</i> , IV, SS, LIII (1869), 256
William Marshall	1509	Register of Christopher Bainbridge, Lord Archbishop of York, f.9
John Ripley (Brown)	1528	Register of Thomas Wolsey, Lord Archbishop of York, f.94 <sup>10</sup>
	1539	<i>CLP</i> , 1539, XIV(ii), p.198 <sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup>‘abbot for nine years’, *Fundacio*, p.186.

<sup>2</sup>*VCH* inserts ‘Martin, occ.1237’ before Maurice, from *Feet of Fines*, Yorks., file 30, no.16; 20–23 Henry III. This may be either a misreading of Maurice, or intended for him. There appears to be no other reference to Abbot Martin and it seems clear that Maurice was abbot in 1237, *CB*, p.15. Dugdale (*MA*, V, 528n) says that Maurice succeeded in 1222, but this is almost certainly too early. Ralph occurs 10 Henry III, i.e. 1225–26. Maurice’s dates are confirmed to 1246 by *CB*, p.24.

<sup>3</sup>A note to p.528 gives ‘1159’.

- <sup>4</sup>Dugdale, *MA*, V, 528 gives 40 Henry III, A.D. 1262. 40 Henry III was 1255–56, but this is almost certainly too early.
- <sup>5</sup>Confirmation up to 1267–68 is provided by Dodsworth, VIII, 67.
- <sup>6</sup>*VCH* inserts ‘Robert, c.1272–75’ before Gilbert, from Baildon, *Monastic Notes*, I, 112. Baildon wrote ‘. . . one Robert, formerly abbot of Kirkstall . . . and in the time of Edward I the said abbot Robert . . .’. No other reference to him has been found.
- <sup>7</sup>Deposed by general chapter.
- <sup>8</sup>*VCH* inserts ‘William of Partington, occ.1290’, before John, but no other reference to him has been found. Hugh made his profession of obedience to Archbishop Romeyn in 1289, *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 85.
- <sup>9</sup>Resigned into the hands of the visitors from the general chapter.
- <sup>10</sup>Dugdale (*MA*, V, 529) shows Ripley as abbot 1508–09, before Marshall, but there is no other reference to him. As Ripley was not made sub-deacon until 1513 (Lonsdale, ‘The Last Monks of Kirkstall Abbey’, p.204), this seems unlikely.
- <sup>11</sup>Dugdale (*MA*, V, 529) gives 1540, but the abbey was dissolved in November 1539.



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*Abbreviations:* a., abbot; abp, archbishop; Aug., Augustinian; B., Benedictine; bp, bishop; bro., brother; C., Cistercian; ch., church; d., duke; Dom., Dominican; e., earl; Gilb., Gilbertine; K., Kirkstall Abbey; m., monk; pr, priest; r., rector, rectory; s., son; sr, sister; v., vicar.

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Armley, viii, 16, 30, 36, 37, 81, 82  
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Attewood, Joh., 30, 31  
Aubrey, 67  
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